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## STANZA-LINKING IN MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSE

THIS paper and that which follows it are intended to supply a preliminary survey of the neglected subject of enchaining or stanza-linking in Middle English poetry. In Latin this device was called *concatenatio* and *anadiplosis*. In French and Provençal various terms were employed, most of which were likewise applied to the linking of lines within stanzas: *vers entrelacés*, *rime enchayenné*, *rime concatenée*, *rims serpentins*. It exists in German where it is called *Reimverkettung*. In Irish it has been called *fidrad freccomail* and *conachlann*, and in Welsh, *adgymmeriad*. No single term has established itself in English. Madden used the word "serpentine." Amours called it "iteration." The terms "enchaining" and "stanza-linking" have more commonly been employed.

The following papers which attempt for the first time to outline the main facts about stanza-linking have doubtless some of the defects of work in a new field but it is hoped that they may be of interest to Romance and Celtic specialists, as well as to students of mediaeval Latin and English verse. They suggest a novel idea of the possible influence of mediaeval Welsh verse.

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### I

Only two or three scholars have given the matter of stanza-linking in "Sir Perceval of Galles" particular study. The first discussion was by Koelbing in 1882. After calling attention to frequent repetitions of thought,<sup>1</sup> sometimes verbal, which serve to

<sup>1</sup> *Tristan-Sage*, vol. II, "Sir Tristrem," p. lxxxiv.

bind together the stanzas of "Sir Tristrem," he went on to classify the linking according to rather unimportant variations, e. g., direct and indirect discourse, in the repeated verse. Koelbing regarded linking as effected by repetition of thought, and considered repetition in language to be an accidental thing. This point of view led him to neglect many cases of linking by word echo, and to declare that the romance of "Sir Degrevant" had no linking. It is easy to show that "Sir Degrevant" has stanza-linking,<sup>2</sup> although not in so marked a form as "Sir Perceval."

Concerning "Sir Perceval" Koelbing wrote as follows:<sup>3</sup>

"Man sieht daraus, dass das, was im Sir Tristrem blos in bescheidenen anfangen sichtbar wird, hier [in 'Sir Perceval'] sich zu einem, dem dichter vollauf bewussten, mittel poetischer technik umgestaltet hat. Aehnliches findet sich in dem vi. vii. und viii. gedichte des Laurence Minot, sowie in der Antours of Arther. Mit recht betont Brandl a. a. o. p. 47 f., dass das eine besondere eigenthümlichkeit nordenglischer gedichte sei."

The reference is to Brandl's discussion of stanza-linking in "Thomas of Erceldoune," in his edition of that romance. Brandl wrote:<sup>4</sup>

"solche 'serpentina' (vgl. F. Madden zu Sir Gaw. p. 328) scheinen besonders nördlichen dichtern eigen gewesen zu sein; sie finden sich hie und da in der altsch. proph.<sup>5</sup> (iv. f., xiv. f., xxiii. f., xxxii. f., xxxvi. f., xlv. f.), regelmässig in Perceval, Aunt. Arth. und in drei balladen von L. Minot. die form stammt wahrscheinlich aus mlat. dichtungen, vgl. *Song on the Scottish wars* aus der zeit Eduard's I. bei Wright, *Pol. Songs* 1839 p. 166 f."

Brandl followed Madden<sup>6</sup> in calling the stanza-links "serpentinae," also in believing that the device of stanza-linking was borrowed from mediaeval Latin verse.

Ellinger in 1889<sup>7</sup> made the most careful study of the metrical

<sup>2</sup> See p. 255 below.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> Brandl, *Thomas of Erceldoune*, Berlin, 1880, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Brandl means by this, "A Ballad on the Scottish Wars," a rhymed poem, with alliteration, in a northern dialect, printed in Ritson, *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, I, No. 8, from a MS. of the second half of the fifteenth century.

<sup>6</sup> *Syr Gawayne*, p. 328 (1839).

<sup>7</sup> *Ueber die sprachlichen und metrischen Eigenthümlichkeiten in S. P.*, p. 31 f.

peculiarities of "Sir Perceval" yet attempted, and called attention to the apparent failure of all linking devices at certain points.

Osgood in his edition of "The Pearl," 1906, supposed that the linking of "Sir Perceval" was of the same kind as the linking of "The Pearl":<sup>8</sup>

"This [linking] device, probably of popular origin, is familiar to readers of mediaeval Romance lyrics. In English, *concatenatio* is a peculiarity of Northern verse. It occurs almost as a rule in poems employing the strophe of *The Pearl*."

But the linking of "The Pearl" is really quite different from that of "Sir Perceval," and may be based on different models.<sup>9</sup>

The latest discussion of the linking in "Sir Perceval" is by Campion and Holthausen, in their edition of the romance, and their analysis is about the same as Ellinger's:<sup>10</sup>

"Je zwei Strophen sind meist durch mehr oder weniger genaue Wiederholung der letzten Zeile im Anfang der nächsten Strophe verbunden (sog. *concatenatio*, vgl. Kölbing, *Sir Tristrem*, p. lxxxiv.). Zuweilen wird jedoch nur der Reim wieder aufgenommen, vgl. Str. 13. f., 41. f., 44. f., 51. f., etc. Verbindung fehlt z. B. zwischen Str. 10 u. 11, 15-17, 18-20, 23-27, 28-29, 31-34 etc."

Briefly, the study of the linking device up to this time has led to the following conclusions:

1. Most stanzas in "Sir Perceval" are linked together by the repetition of one or more words.
2. Sometimes repetition of thought suffices, without any verbal repetition.
3. At some points linking altogether fails.
4. A similar linking device occurs in "Sir Tristrem," "The Auntes of Arthur," "Thomas of Erceldoune," "A Ballad of the Scottish Wars," three poems of Minot, a political song of the time of Edward I, "The Pearl," and certain mediaeval Romance lyrics.
5. The source of stanza-linking is probably to be found in Romance or Latin poetry.
6. In English, stanza-linking occurs chiefly in Northern Poetry.

<sup>8</sup> P. XLV, note 2.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 264 below.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. 1913, p. xi.

## II

Linking in "Sir Perceval"<sup>11</sup> is usually described as the repetition in whole or in part of the last verse of one stanza as the first verse of the next. Rarely is a verse repeated word for word.<sup>12</sup> More often words are added to fill out the regular metre of the first verse of a stanza, as in stanzas 17-18:

*Juste to þe chynn.*

His hode was *juste to his chyn*,

Sometimes, as in stanzas 5-6, the phrasing is changed. According to a second method the only link is one important word, thus: stanzas 6-7:

If þat he were *leveande*.

Now þan are þay *leveande* bathe;

Two thirds of the 143 stanzas of "Sir Perceval" are linked in these two ways, 74 by the repetition of a whole verse or of a phrase, 23 by the repetition of a single word, 97 in all.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Quotations are from Campion and Holthausen's edition above referred to. Halliwell's edition in "The Thornton Romances," *Camden Society*, vol. 30, has the same numbering.

<sup>12</sup> There are three examples of this: stanzas 3-4, 9-10, 29-30. Luick says of such places (*Anglia*, XII, 441): "Wenn daher gelegentlich der schlussvers der strophe zu lang ist für das ausmass eines zweiten halbverses, aber wörtlich übereinstimmt mit dem anfangsverse der nächsten strophe, so haben wir gewiss fehler des schreibers vor uns, der bereits die folgende Zeile im auge hatte."

<sup>13</sup> Linking by repetition of a verse or phrase occurs in stanzas:

1- 6	29-31	57-58	83- 86	107-110	136-138
7-10	34-36	59-60	87- 90	111-113	
11-13	39-40	61-62	91- 92	114-117	
14-15	45-46	64-65	94- 96	118-120	
17-18	47-49	66-68	98- 99	122-123	
21-23	51-52	70-73	100-102	124-126	
27-28	55-56	76-81	104-106	129-135	

Linking by repetition of a single important word occurs in stanzas:

6- 7	41-42	62-63	103-104	123-124
13-14	44-45	69-70	106-107	126-127
20-21	46-47	73-74	117-118	135-136
36-37	52-53	75-76	120-121	
38-39	60-61	90-91	121-122	

The italicized figures denote that linking by an important word is enforced by the repetition of one or more minor words.



The present discussion is chiefly concerned with the forty-four<sup>14</sup> cases where normal linking by the repetition of a word or words from the last verse of one stanza into the first verse of the next fails. In the discussion attention will be focused upon echoes of language, and not primarily as Koelbing did upon echoes of thought.

A third method of linking, which has not been heretofore specifically noticed,<sup>15</sup> is that effected by the use of related words such as different inflectional forms of the same verb and different words compounded with the same syllable. One example of this method will suffice: stanzas 81-82:<sup>16</sup>

And þay ne wolde noghte late me go:  
þaire lyfes there refte I.

He sayd: 'Belyfe þay solde aby!'  
And Lufamour, þat lele lady.

A fourth method of linking, which has also not hitherto been noticed, is that which may be concerned with the last two verses of one stanza and the first two of the next. Such linking is not between adjacent verses, but it should be observed that it is in every case between adjacent sentences. Sixteen examples of this linking between sentences appear in "Sir Perceval."<sup>17</sup> of which one may be quoted as an illustration:

Stanzas 26-27:

"*Moder*, as 3e bidd me,  
"Richte so schall I."

• All þat nyste, till it was day,  
The childe by þe *modir* lay,

<sup>14</sup> Deducting the cases of stanzas 42a and 97, which are imperfect at the beginning in the MS.

<sup>15</sup> Ellinger includes some cases in his list of examples of normal linking, but he calls no specific attention to the possibility of linking by cognate words. Nor do Campion and Holthausen refer to the matter.

<sup>16</sup> Linking of this sort occurs in nine stanzas: 37-8, 58-9, 65-6, 74-5, 81-2, 110-111, 113-4, 138-9, 140-141. Italicized figures denote that linking by related words is enforced by the repetition of a minor word.

<sup>17</sup> Before stanzas 16, 24, 25, 27, 32, 34, 44, 50, 69, 87, 93, 98, 103, 128, 129, 142.

In one case only does this kind of linking extend over more than four verses:

Stanzas 97-98:

'paire *metis* was redy,  
And þerto went þay in hy,  
The kyng and þe lady  
And knyghtis also.

Wele welcomed scho þe geste  
With riche *metis* of þe beste,'

Koelbing included some of this kind of linking in his examples of linking by thought in "Sir Tristrem," but he did not notice the verbal repetition. Neither Ellinger nor Holthausen understood this kind of linking because it is present in cases which they cited as examples of failure to link.<sup>18</sup>

One hundred and twenty-two cases of undoubted linking have been enumerated. In the twenty-one cases which are left, linking seems at first glance to fail. But a more searching examination discloses in eight of these cases, the repetition of a comparatively unimportant word, which may have been felt as a link. Four of these cases are instances of linking between adjacent verses: 16-17 "he"; 42-3 "hym"; 99-100 "he"; 142-3 "in." The last is a particularly strong instance because the link word is repeated in a way to suggest that its use as such was intended:

Stanzas 142-3:

'And made þe lady *in* to ga  
In graye and in grene.  
Than sir Percevell *in* hy.'

The remaining cases, which belong to type 4, where the repetition is between adjacent sentences, not verses, are: 25-6 "þou";

<sup>18</sup> This fourth type of linking enforces the first or second type in stanzas 20-1, 44-5, 45-6, 60-1, 62-3, 135-6. It enforces the third type, namely linking by related words, in stanzas 37-8. On the other hand the fourth type is often itself reinforced by other methods: (1) by the repetition of another important word within the four verses: stanzas 31-2, 128-9; (2) by the repetition of a less important word: stanzas 68-9, 86-7; (3) by the repetition of a minor word within the last and first verses: stanzas 23-4, 49-50.

40-1 "hym"; 63-4 "he"; 139-40 "he." The only case where the linking extends over more than four verses is in stanzas 25-6:

"Luke, þou be of mesure  
 "Bothe in haulle and in boure,  
 "And fonde to be fre!"

Than saide þe lady so bryghte:  
 "There þou meteste with a knyghte,"

On later pages some evidence will be given that the authors of English linked poems may have been aware of a rule which permitted linking to be neglected at the beginning of any stanza, the first verse of which contained a proper name. Such a rule would account for the absence of linking in seven stanzas: 11, 20, 33, 51, 54, 57, 94.<sup>19</sup>

Stanzas 28-29, although without verbal linking, are surely linked by thought. It is impossible for any stanza to have dropped out between them:

Stanzas 28-9:

"Halfe, þat I here see,  
 "Styll sall it ly."

The corne he pertis *in two*,  
 Gaffe his mere þe tone of þoo,'

Three stanzas remain, in which no linking and no explanation for failure of linking are discoverable: 19, 55, 83. The MS of S.P. lacks a few verses before stanzas 42a and 97.

When several MSS. of a romance are accessible it is usual to find on comparing the copies ample evidence of alterations in phraseology due to careless copying or to oral transmission. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that if more than one MS. of S.P. existed, it might appear that the romance was originally linked throughout, and

<sup>19</sup> Eleven linked stanzas also contain a proper name in the first verse: 41, 47, 59, 70, 71, 90, 103, 110, 111, 133, 143. This makes a total of eighteen stanzas from the one hundred and forty-three in the romance, or an average of one in eight, which begin with a verse containing a proper name. The ten unlinked stanzas (11, 19, 20, 33, 51, 54, 55, 57, 73, 94) might by chance include two or three which began with a proper name. That they include not two or three, but seven, is some evidence for the validity of the rule set forth above.

that the defects and weak linkings just studied were due to lapses of memory rather than to the omission of stanzas. It would of course be wrong, without more evidence, to ascribe these failures of linking to the author of the romance.

Hitherto it has been sometimes supposed that the failures to link in S.P. mark places where stanzas have been omitted, and that to these *lacunae* is due the abrupt character of the narrative which is occasionally difficult to follow.

Against this view it may be urged that S.P. is not more abrupt or difficult to follow than several other romances, notably "Sir Tristrem." Perhaps the bold transitions of these narrative poems were made perfectly clear to the auditors of that day by the gestures and intonations of the reciting gleeman.

Our study has demonstrated that linking is neither lacking nor at all ambiguous except at twenty-one places. Any *lacunae* must exist at these places. It is possible still further to reduce the number of points at which *lacunae* could exist.

Continuity of thought, as has been shown, would permit no gap before stanza 29. The same test makes it almost or quite impossible for *lacunae* to exist before stanzas 19, 20, 33, 41, 42a, 43, 57, and 83. It is necessary therefore for whoever would suppose that our MS. contains a defective story, to fit in at the following places, 11, 17, 26, 51, 54, 55, 64, 94, 97, 100, 140, 143, the incidents which he believes to be omitted. Whoever tries, will find it awkward to do this—to fit in a mention of the grail, for example, at stanzas 54 or 55. A safer theory would be to suppose that we have the poem about as it was composed by the unknown Englishman who put it into its linked stanza form. The material which this author used may, of course, have been defective.

#### STANZA-LINKING IN "SIR PERCEVAL"

1. By repetition of a whole verse, or of several words.....	74	
2. By repetition of a single important word .....	23	
3. By related words .....	9	
4. Of sentences by repetitions within the last three verses of one stanza and the first two of the next .....	16	
Total cases of unmistakable linking .....		122
5. By a pronoun or preposition .....	8	
6. Unlinked, stanza begins with proper name .....	7	
7. Linked by the thought .....	1	

8. Unlinked .....	3	
9. MS. defective .....	2	
		21
		—
		143
Total number of stanzas .....		144

### III

An examination of all known English metrical romances shows that only five<sup>20</sup> beside S.P. employ the linking device: namely, "The AunTERS of Arthur," "Sir Degrevant," "The Avowynge of Arthur," "Sir Tristrem," and "Thomas of Erceldoune."

Madden, Brandl and Koelbing, as has been seen, call attention to the device in "The AunTERS." F. J. Amours<sup>21</sup> made a somewhat detailed study of it, but he, like students of S.P., overlooked the less apparent cases of linking. The stanzaic structure of this romance is much more complicated<sup>22</sup> than in S.P. but enchaining seems to observe the same rules as in the former poem.

The study of enchaining<sup>23</sup> in "The AunTERS" is especially significant because we have four<sup>24</sup> complete, or nearly complete, MSS. of the romance. These MSS. differ considerably with respect to enchaining. Stanzas which are unlinked in one are often linked in another, and *vice versa*. A comparison of the MSS. enables one to

<sup>20</sup> But see below, p. 255, footnote 28.

<sup>21</sup> *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, S. T. S. 27, (1897), p. lxxxv: "Iteration is another feature in the formation of the stanza that deserves notice. The name has been given to the repetition of the leading word or expression of a line in the next one, so as to link two parts of a stanza, or two stanzas together. This useful mnemonic contrivance, borrowed from French poets, occurs here and there in staves of all kinds, but is chiefly affected by alliterative poets."

<sup>22</sup> Robson in his edition of "The AunTERS," *Camden Soc.* (1842), p. xx, describes its stanza as follows: "(It) consists of eight alliterative verses, usually with four alliterative syllables in each, with four alternate rhymes; the ninth verse is of a similar description, and with three verses of six syllables, each rhyming together, and another of five syllables rhyming with the ninth—forms the wheel."

<sup>23</sup> Since Miss Medary did not have access to the Lambeth copy, it has been necessary for me to rewrite this section of her paper. I am indebted to Professor Kittredge for reminding me of the existence of the Lambeth MS., "Bibl. 491" (see Herrig's *Archiv*, 86, 383), and to Harvard College Library for lending me a photograph of it.

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<sup>24</sup> The Ireland MS. printed by Robson; the Douce, and the Thornton printed by Amours; and the Lambeth, referred to above.

restore linking except at two places. The results are as follows: Type 1, Linking by repetition of several words or of an entire verse, existed in 27 cases,<sup>25</sup> out of a possible 54. Type 2, Linking by one word, may be restored in 18 cases. Type 3, Linking by a related word, existed in five cases. Type 4, Linking of adjacent sentences, (not adjacent verses) in one case, stanzas 46-47:

"Gaynor gret for her sake  
Wiþ her grey eyen.

Thus grette dame Gaynor þat grete grefe was to sene."  
Lambeth (Ireland and Thornton very nearly agree).

One case of linking by word-echo, that is by repetition of less than a whole word, existed, stanzas 45-46:

"þe brede of ane hare.

Hardely þene þes hæþelise one helmes þey hewe."  
Douce (Ireland and Thornton nearly agree).

Two stanzas, 50 and 55, remain, which are unlinked at the beginning in all four MSS. These could be explained by the rule about proper names. Stanza 50 contains in all MSS. in its first verse, two proper names:

"Then spak Galron to Gawayn þe good." Lambeth.

Stanza 55 contains in all MSS. one proper name:

"Gaynor gart wightly write in to þe weste." Lambeth.

It seems an entirely reasonable conclusion that "The AunTERS" was the work of a skilled craftsman, doubtless the man who com-

<sup>25</sup> Letters attached to the stanza numbers herewith are the initials of the MSS. in which the linking is found. No letters are attached when the recorded linking appears in all four MSS. No account is taken of the fact that stanzas linked according to Type 1 in one MS. are sometimes linked by Types 2 or 3 in another. Type 1 is found before stanzas: 2(IDT), 3, 4, 6(I), 7(TL), 8 (IDT), 9, 10, 11(IDL), 13(DTL), 15(ID), 17(DL), 18, 20(IDL), 21, 23(IT), 24, 26(ID), 35, 36(IL), 38(IDL), 40(DTL), 42(ID), 43(L), 44(I), 45(IL), 51.

Type 2 before: 5(DTL), 12, 14(L), 16(DTL), 19, 22, 25, 27, 30(IDT), 31, 33, 34, 37(DTL), 39(DTL), 41(D), 48(IDL), 53(L), 54(DTL).

Type 3 before: 28, 29, 32(DL), 49(T), 52(L).

bined into one romance, the two incidents of the ghost and the combat, and that he linked the stanzas throughout, except perhaps before 50 and 55, where the occurrence of proper names gave him poetic license.

Attention should also be called to linking within the stanzas of "The AunTERS." In most stanzas the eighth verse links with the ninth,<sup>26</sup> and all four varieties of linking described above appear. A comparison of the four MSS. enables us to restore this internal linking in all except the following twelve stanzas: 1, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 37, 38, 40, 48, 50, 52.

In two of these cases, 29 and 40, alliteration perhaps operated as a link:

Stanza 29, 8. "*Hur* kerchefes were curiouse, with many a proud prene  
Ireland 9. "*Hur* enparel was a-praysut with princes of myste."

Stanza 40, 8. "That grevut Syr Gauan ever tille his dethe day.  
Ireland 9. "The dyntus of that dusty were douteouse be-dene."

What I have called enchaining by verbal echo has never before been pointed out in English. A study of the MSS. of "The AunTERS" reveals enough examples to put beyond doubt that this kind of linking was recognized by the gleemen who transmitted the romance. In the following case, for instance, one MS. exhibits linking by echo, whereas the other MSS. show a closer linking: stanzas 1-2:

*Lambeth*  
Gawayn gaynest on grene  
Dame Guunore he ledis.

In a gliteryng gyte þat glennth  
so gay.

*Ireland*  
Syr Gawan, graythist on grene,  
Dame Gaynore he ledus.

Thenne Syr Gawan the gode,  
Dame Gaynour he ledus.

In one case the Douce and Lambeth MSS. agree on linking by echo whereas the Ireland shows linking by a pronoun, stanzas 31-32:

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Amours*, p. lxxxvi.

*Douce*

Saz he never *are*,  
*Arthur* asked one *histe*, herand  
 hem alle.

## Lambeth

Saw he nevere *are*  
*Arthour* askyd in hight, heryng  
 hem alle.

### *Ireland*

Then the king carput *him* tille, on hereand  
horn alle.

In another place all four MSS. agree in a kind of linking by echo, stanzas 27-28:

### *Ireland*

For the *mon*-hed  
*Mon*li in his *mantille* he sate  
 atte his *mete*.

### Lambeth

ffor thy *manhede*  
*Manly* in his *mantel* he sittis at  
 his *mete*.

The following should also be compared:

Douce

The canel bone also  
And *clef* his shelde shene.

(Stanzas 40-41)

### *Ireland*

His canel-bone allsoe  
And clevet his schild clene.

He *clef* þorghe þe cantelle þat  
covered þe kniste.

He kervet of the cantel, that  
covurt the knyzte.

### *Ireland*

That is so dilfully dyste  
And hit were thi *wille*.

(Stanzas 48–49)

*Douce*

That is so delfulle diste  
If hit be thi wille.

Thenne wilfulle Waynour  
to the king wente.

Wisly dame Waynour  
to the king wente.

The cases in the right-hand column above are best explained by supposing that a gleeman's poor memory has allowed an original link-word to disappear, but has retained some of the adjacent alliterating words. In this way linking by alliteration might arise. Once introduced, linking by alliteration may have been practiced occa-



sionally by composers of romances perhaps as a kind of poetic license.

"Golagrus and Gawain" is composed in the same stanza as "The AunTERS," and might be expected to show the same linking. Madden, *l. c.*, classed the two poems together in this respect. Amours<sup>27</sup> said there was no trace of linking in "Golagrus." As a matter of fact linking appears so rarely as to seem accidental, and in the present study, therefore, "Golagrus and Gawain" is disregarded.<sup>28</sup>

Linking in "Sir Degrevant"<sup>29</sup> is of interest because the stanzaic structure of this romance is identical with that of S.P. Koelbing mentioned this but said that S.D. showed no linking.<sup>30</sup> It does indeed show little of the normal type of linking. But there is enough to make certain that the singer was attempting the device, and perhaps because of lack of skill deviated into looser methods of linking, or failed entirely.

The first method of linking occurs in four places,<sup>31</sup> and the second in six.<sup>32</sup> The third type of linking occurs seven times.<sup>33</sup> The fourth type namely by means of a word within five adjoining verses occurs eighteen times.<sup>34</sup> There thus remain 83 places in which none of these types of linking is apparent. The rule about proper names would explain only fifteen<sup>35</sup> of these, and linking by

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi.

<sup>28</sup> "Golagrus" has none of the normal linking by the repetition of a whole verse, or even of a phrase, and there are only three cases (stanzas 2-3, 8-9, 74-5) of linking by a single important word.

"Libeaus Desconus," according to Kaluza, *Libeaus Desconus* (1890), p. xlv, contains three cases of linking in 186 stanzas. In seven cases, he says, successive stanzas begin with the same words, a peculiarity which he does not regard as accidental.

<sup>29</sup> Ed. Halliwell, "The Thornton Romances," 1844.

<sup>30</sup> *Tristan-Sage*, II, lxxxiv.

<sup>31</sup> 29-30, 47-8, 50-1, 96-7.

<sup>32</sup> 40-2, 67-8, 74-5, 79-80, 109-110.

<sup>33</sup> 3-5, 6-8, 15-6, 20-1, 39-40.

<sup>34</sup> 9-10, 17-18, 30-1, 32-3, 42-3, 43-4, 51-2, 60-2, 63-4 (64-5 in Lincoln MS. only), 66-7, 89-90, 100-1, 105-6, 110-1, 112-3, 114-5.

<sup>35</sup> 1-2, 13-14, 16-7, 18-9, 19-20, 23-4, 31-2, 34-5, 36-7, 38-9, 45-6, 58-9, 70-1, 73-4, 102-3. Seven linked stanzas also begin with a proper name: 21, 22, 43, 70, 84, 101, 111.

alliteration but seventeen<sup>36</sup> more. There thus remain in any case 51 places in which no linking device is apparent.

The "Avowyng of Arthur"<sup>37</sup> contains no great amount of close linking although like S.D. it is written in the same sixteen-line stanza as S.P. There are two cases<sup>38</sup> of linking of the first type in which almost the whole verse is repeated. There are nine cases<sup>39</sup> of linking by a single important word, two of which (11-2, 21-2) are obvious enough to show that the singer was linking purposely. Of linking by related words seven examples occur.<sup>40</sup> Of linking by verbal repetition within four verses there are fourteen examples,<sup>41</sup> the first of which by its iteration of thought is enough to make it evident that this is intentional verbal linking:

Stanzas 27-8:

"And thi wenche *lost* with-alle,  
Mi traathe I thè pliste!"

Quod Kay, "Thi leue hase thou *loste*,  
For alle thi brag or thi boste.

Of the rather doubtful linking by alliteration there are thirteen examples.<sup>42</sup> Six stanzas begin with a proper name and show no linking.<sup>43</sup> Twelve stanzas<sup>44</sup> are linked at the beginning by a repetition of the word "kyng." Eight places<sup>45</sup> seem to be entirely unlinked.

The linking in "Sir Tristrem"<sup>46</sup> has already been examined in some detail by Koelbing. He has, however, based his classification largely upon iteration of thought and has included within it such

<sup>36</sup> 2-3, 5-6, 8-9, 14-5, 21-2, 24-5, 44-5, 56-7, 69-70, 78-9, 80-1, 83-5, 90-1, 94-5, 101-2, 111-2.

<sup>37</sup> Ed. Robson, C. S., 1842.

<sup>38</sup> 15-6, 34-5.

<sup>39</sup> 4-5, 11-2, 20-2, 31-3, 41-2, 46-7, 70-1.

<sup>40</sup> 6-7, 10-11, 14-15, 27-8, 39-40, 62-4.

<sup>41</sup> 2-3, 16-17, 18-9, 23-5, 29-30, 35-6, 44-5, 55-7, 58-60, 65-6, 67-8.

<sup>42</sup> 1-2, 5-6, 7-10, 13-4, 42-3, 45-6, 48-9, 61-2, 64-5, 68-70.

<sup>43</sup> 19-20, 22-3, 25-7, 28-9, 57-8. (It should be noted as bearing on the validity of the rule that where a stanza begins with a proper name linking may be omitted, that four linked stanzas, 9, 21, 22, 35, begin with a proper name.)

<sup>44</sup> 12-3, 17-8, 33-4, 37-8, 43-4, 49-55, 71-2.

<sup>45</sup> 3-4, 30-1, 36-7, 38-9, 40-1, 47-8, 60-1, 66-7.

<sup>46</sup> Ed. Koelbing.

iteration whether occurring at the beginning, middle or end of successive stanzas.<sup>47</sup> This suggests at once that the device in S.T. is somewhat different from that with which we are familiar in S.P. The repetition is more of the spasmodic, irregular kind to be found in the ballads, yet it differs from the latter in appearing to be a conscious literary device. The system, if, with its variety, it may be so called, includes linking of the same kind as in S.P. It has, therefore, seemed desirable to classify this romance in the same way as the others, although such a classification will exclude some of the types described by Koelbing.

"Sir Tristrem" has five<sup>48</sup> examples of the first type of linking, and forty-four<sup>49</sup> of the second. Of the third type, namely linking by cognate words, it has nine<sup>50</sup> cases. The fourth type of linking, namely by word or words within five adjoining verses, is more common in S.T. than any other. Sometimes the verbal repetition involves repetition of thought as in stanzas 31-2. Sometimes no repetition of thought is involved as in stanzas 17-8. 101<sup>51</sup> examples of this fourth type of linking occur. If as Koelbing suggested we have in S.T. the beginnings of what has become in S.P. a "fully conscious poetic technique," these numerous cases of remote linking may show the importance of the twenty cases of this kind of linking which I have pointed out in S.P. "Sir Tristrem" shows eighteen<sup>52</sup> cases of the rather doubtful linking by alliteration. Seven<sup>53</sup> places may be linked by rhyme. In one place, stanzas 12-13, the

<sup>47</sup> Koelbing, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxii ff.

<sup>48</sup> 172-3, 176-7, 222-3, 225-6, 293-4.

<sup>49</sup> 1-2, 7-8, 9-10, 14-15, 38-40, 44-6, 48-9, 53-4, 55-7, 73-4, 80-1, 88-9, 100-1, 113-14, 115-7, 119-20, 125-6, 130-2, 134-5, 143-5, 155-7, 171-2, 177-8, 179-80, 200-1, 220-2, 232-4, 236-7, 239-40, 242-3, 261-2, 263-4, 270-1, 275-6, 283-4.

<sup>50</sup> 10-11, 63-4, 74-5, 78-9, 82-3, 96-7, 139-41, 158-9.

<sup>51</sup> 4-6, 17-8, 19-21, 26-7, 30-2, 34-6, 37-8, 52-3, 54-5, 57-8, 59-60, 61-2, 65-6, 67-9, 76-8, 83-5, 87-8, 91-2, 94-5, 97-100, 101-6, 108-9, 111-3, 114-5, 117-8, 123-4, 127-8, 129-30, 132-3, 135-6, 137-9, 145-8, 149-50, 162-4, 165-6, 168-70, 175-6, 190-1, 192-200, 201-3, 206-7, 208-9, 211-2, 213-4, 217-9, 220-1, 223-5, 231-2, 240-2, 243-5, 250-2, 253-5, 262-3, 266-7, 268-9, 271-3, 276-7, 278-9, 286-8, 289-90, 292-3, 294-6, 300-3.

<sup>52</sup> 2-4, 27-8, 41-2, 49-50, 64-5, 66-7, 85-6, 89-90, 95-6, 120-1, 137-8, 174-5, 235-6, 260-1, 265-6, 274-5, 277-8.

<sup>53</sup> 4-5, 33-4, 106-8, 110-11, 166-7, 170-1.

MS. is defective. 118 places are thus left where no linking is discernible.

Linking in "Thomas of Erceldoune,"<sup>54</sup> like that in S.T. presents a somewhat different problem from that in S.P. The system whatever it is, however, includes the devices used in S.P., and may therefore be profitably examined from the same standpoint as the others. "Thomas of Erceldoune" shows three examples<sup>55</sup> of the first type of linking, thirty-seven of the second, eleven of the third, and thirty-six of the fourth. This would leave fifty-eight failures to link. Brandl has listed<sup>56</sup> seventy-four cases of linking by rhyme most of which are linked also in other ways enumerated above. This linking by rhyme will account for 27 cases out of the fifty-eight which are said to be un-linked, and will reduce the number of entirely un-linked stanzas to thirty-one.

The following table shows the facts about linking in the six romances already discussed. It has seemed best to tabulate all cases of linking, since to set up a distinction between important and un-

LINKING IN SIX ROMANCES

	S. P.	Aunters of Arthur					S. D.	Avow'g	S. T.	T. of E.
		Ire'd	Douce	Thor'n	Lamb.	Reconstruction				
1. By several words . . . . .	74	22	20	15	16	27	4	2	5	3
2. By one word . . . . .	27	14	21	19	24	18	6	9	44	37
3. By cognate word . . . . .	9	7	3	4	3	5	7	7	9	11
4. By a word in adjacent sentences . . . . .	20	2	1	0	2	1	18	14	101	36
Percentage of above linking . . . . .	.91	.83				.94	.30	.45	.52	.60
5. Unlkd, stz. begins with proper name . . . . .	7					2	15	6		
6. Unlkd, stzs. begin with the word "kyng" . . . . .								12		
7. Unlkd, except by rhyme . . . . .									7	27
8. Unlkd, except by word-echo . . . . .		1	2	0	1	1				
9. Unlkd, except by alliteration . . . . .							17	13	18	
10. Unlkd, without apparent reason . . . . .	4	5	7	7	7	0	51	8	118	31
11. MS. defective . . . . .	2	3	0	9	1	0	0	0	1	0
Total . . . . .	143	54	54	54	54	54	118	71	303	145
Total no. stz. . . . .	144	55	55	55	55	55	119	72	304	146

important words would introduce an arbitrary element varying with the observer. Only a small percentage of the linking tabulated is

<sup>54</sup> Ed. Brandl.

<sup>55</sup> II, 9-10, 33-4, 38-9.

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

by unimportant words. All the romances are treated from the same standpoint.<sup>57</sup>

## IV

There remain to be considered a number of shorter poems, some of which have already been mentioned by those who have discussed stanza-linking.

Robson<sup>58</sup> calls attention to "The Song of the Husbandman"<sup>59</sup> which "has a structure similar to" "The AunTERS":

"The stanza is alliterative; the first eight verses with four alternate rhymes, are followed by a quatrain in the same meter; and the iteration at the beginning of the quatrain and the commencement of the stanza exactly resembles that of the AunTERS."

The linking in the "Song of the Husbandman" shows examples of most of the types which we have found in S.P.: (1) Linking by the repetition of the larger part of a verse, stanzas 2, 4-5. (2) Linking by repetition of one word, 1-2, 2-3. (3) Linking by related words, 5-6. (4) No examples. (9) No examples of alliteration alone, but alliteration enforces the linking in stanzas, 1-2, 2-3, 5, 5-6, 6. Linking fails altogether in stanzas 3, 3-4, 4.

No one, I think, has hitherto noticed that a number of the Eng-

<sup>57</sup> It appears that in every romance, methods of linking vary from the most elaborate to the most trivial. The evidence of the four MSS. of the "AunTERS" shows that this romance was once linked throughout, but that oral transmission has obliterated some of the linking words. The gleeman was more likely to alter the linking words than he was to forget stanzas altogether. It seems fair to conclude also that S.P. was once linked throughout. Even our one MS. shows but four failures to link in 143 cases, and in one of these close linking in thought is apparent. "The Avowynge," too, may have been originally linked throughout, although by looser methods than the two romances just named. "Sir Degrevant," which shows distinct linking in less than a third of its stanzas, and the other two romances, "Sir Tristrem" and "Thomas of Erceldoune," belong in a different category. In them linking was only an occasional artifice.

A. C. L. B.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xxi.

<sup>59</sup> Wright, *Political Songs of England*, p. 149; Bökdeker, *Altenglische Dichtungen des MS. Harl. 2253*, "PL. II." Since these shorter poems are not comparable in length to S.P. I shall not attempt to tabulate the amount of linking either as a whole or according to different types. I shall study them, however, from the same standpoint as the romances, and where possible cite examples of the different types of linking which I have pointed out in S.P.

lish lyrics in this same MS.<sup>60</sup> show the same kind of linking. GL. I, WL. I, WL. IV, WL. VI, WL. VII, GL. III, all have linking to a greater or less degree and show the various types which have been noted in S.P.: (1) GL. I, 1-2. (2) GL. I, 2-3. (3) WL. VI, 1-2, 3-4. (4) WL. IV, 2-3. (9) Linking by alliteration, GL. III, 1-2:

þer me calleþ me fule flet,  
ant waynoun! wayteglede.

Whil ich wes in wille and wolde  
In uch about among þe bolde.

Other examples of apparent linking by alliteration are: GL. II, 1-2, 2-3, 4-5; GL. III, 3-4; WL. VI, 4-5; VII, 7-8, 8-9; VIII, 1-3; X, *passim*.

Discussion of this political song naturally recalls the "Song on the Scottish Wars,"<sup>61</sup> mentioned by Brandl<sup>62</sup> in support of his theory that stanza-linking had its origin in Middle Latin poems. This long Latin poem in alliterative quatrains rhyming a. a. a. is assuredly an interesting counterpart of the English songs. It shows types 1, 2, 3, and 9 and in several cases linking fails. The first and part of the second stanza are here given to show the alliteration and the normal linking:

Ludere volentibus ludens paro lyram;  
De mundi malitea rem demonstro miram;  
Nil quod nocet referam, rem gestam requiram;  
Scribo novam satyram, sed sic ne seminet iram.

*Ira movet militum mentes modernorum.*<sup>63</sup>

Linking of type (1), as well as of type (2) occurs, but less frequently. Type (3) is very common; in fact almost all the linking would strictly belong in this class since, because of the nature of

<sup>60</sup> Harleian 2253. I use Béddeker's marks.

<sup>61</sup> Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>63</sup> This poem was written soon after 1208, perhaps at Alnwick. Its artificial character may be understood from the fact that the fourth line of each quatrain is a hexameter (sometimes a pentameter) taken from some Latin poet then popular. In the MS. the source of these lines is written in the margin, e. g., 4 "Morus," 8 "Cato," 12 "Cato," etc.

Latin syntax, a word is rarely repeated in exactly the same form. Type (4) does not occur by itself but in at least one case (verses 68-9) it is used to enforce type (2). Linking by alliteration (9) seems to appear at verses 112-3, 184-5, 264-5. This last case will serve for illustration:

*Si vitam inspicias hominum sidereus (?) mores.  
Quasi sus insurgeret leonis virtuti.*

Linking fails altogether between stanzas 2-3, and verses 136-7, 252-3.

It is interesting to note that three other Latin poems in the same stanza in Wright's collection "Song on the Times," p. 14; "Song Against Scholastic Studies," p. 206; and "The Battle of Bannockburn," p. 262; show no traces of linking, and are only slightly alliterative.

This Latin poem has been discussed for the light it may throw on the system of linking in the English poems. In the case of this one poem it seems at least as probable that the Latin is an imitation of the English as that the Latin forms the model.

Linking in the poems of Laurence Minot has been frequently noted.<sup>64</sup> Koelbing says that the device is apparent in songs VI, VII and VIII. Brandl speaks of "three ballads of Minot," and Madden refers in a general way to the "songs of Minot." The device is not confined to "three" of the songs but is apparent in I, II, V, IX, X and XI, beside those mentioned by Koelbing. As in the lyrics described above, the stanzaic structure varies, and there is both stanza-linking (I, VI, VII, VIII); and internal linking (II, V, IX, X and XI). On the whole the system is not only very perfectly carried out, but most of the linking is of type (1). Frequently the last word of one stanza recurs as the first of the next.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized, however, that even in these songs, which on the whole use the device so consistently and show

<sup>64</sup> Ten Brink, *History of English Literature* (Eng. trans.), I, 323-4. "Minot was fond of increasing the technical difficulties of his task. He was wont, in almost all his strophic poems, to unite the end of a stanza more closely with the beginning of a refrain or of a following stanza by the repetition of a word or idea. This was unknown neither to the Provençal art-poetry, nor to the lyric of western England." My references are to Hall's *Edition of Minot*, Ox. 1897.



so many cases of types (1) and (2) there appear also types (3) and (9). Examples of type (1) are: I, 1-2, VI, 2-4, VII, 13-4; of type (2): I, 2-3, *et passim*, VII, 10-11; of type (3): VII, 5-6, 7-8; of type (4) no examples; of type (9) linking by alliteration VI, 1-2:

Bot þou be war, I wene.

When all yowre wele es went.

Linking fails in VII, 9-10.

Amours<sup>65</sup> calls attention to three Scottish alliterative poems in the same stanza as "The Anturs" and as "Golagrus," which show traces of linking. "The Buke of the Howlat," as Amours says, shows no attempt at internal linking, but is consistent in its linking of stanzas as far as stanza 23. Before this, linking fails only at 5-6. After stanza 23, fourteen cases of the first and second type of stanza-linking occur: 24-5, 26-7, 29-31, 37-8, 49-52, 56-8, 59-60, 61-2, 66-7, 73-4; and five cases of type 9, linking by alliteration: 31-2, 36-7, 38-9, 55-6, 64-5. In this latter part stanza-linking tends to run in groups, such as have been noticed in other poems which are not consistently linked. In "Rauf Coilsear," linking occurs somewhat more frequently than is indicated by Amours. The cases belonging to types (1) and (2) are: 3-4, 11-12, 39-40, 45-6, 60-1; to type (4), linking involving three verses and in a few cases five (the wheel): 4-6, 18-9, 22-3, 26-7, 29-30, 37-8, 41-2, 43-4, 67-8, 70-1; to type (9), the rather doubtful linking by alliteration: 24-6, 35-6, 49-51, 53-4, 55-6. In "The Pistell of Susan" are two examples of linking: 6-7, 20-1.

Amours also calls attention to stanza-linking in the York Mystery Play, no. xlv., and remarks that the play has almost the same stanzaic structure as the Scottish alliterative poems.

The variety of meter and stanza in the York plays is generally recognized. Miss L. Toulmin Smith has described in some detail the metres of the plays.<sup>66</sup> Her description shows that plays xl. and

<sup>65</sup> S.T.S., 27, p. lxxxvi.

<sup>66</sup> *York Mystery Plays*, pp. l-ii, "The great variety of metre in the collection, totally unlike the regular verse in which the French mysteries are uniformly written, points to their native growth, and the improbability of their having been translated or introduced from France. . . . Here there are twenty-



xlvi. which have the most stanza-linking are also the most alliterative of the plays, and all the rest which have stanza-linking also show a good deal of alliteration. A study of the York Plays shows that others than those mentioned by Miss Smith exhibit linking although less consistently. A list of the cases of stanza-linking is given below.<sup>67</sup> About twenty of these cases belong to type (4), the rest chiefly to types (1) and (2). No attempt has been made to list the cases of type (9), linking by alliteration. This kind of linking seems to appear frequently, and often in juxtaposition to cases of undoubted linking so that it may have been felt as a real link. Typical instances of what appears to be linking by alliteration are given below.<sup>68</sup>

For a number of reasons these plays have considerable significance for the study of stanza-linking. They are almost indubitably of native origin; some of them are unusually consistent in their use of linking; they show all the different types which have been pointed out in S.P.; linking occurs in various kinds of stanza, but always in connection with alliteration.

Stanza-linking is found to some extent in the popular ballads. Hart, in his *Ballad and Epic*,<sup>69</sup> has pointed out some instances in the Border Ballads. In only a few ballads does stanza-linking appear

two different forms of stanza. They are of two classes: (a) the alliterative, in which the metre is determined by accent or stress, not by the number of syllables or feet; (b) determinable by accent or feet, the lines having usually a fixed number of syllables; in this class the alliteration is nearly lost. Both kinds end in rime. Some of the stanzas are very complicated, chiefly in class (a). In xl and xlvi is that regular repetition (or iteration) of the last line of one stanza in the first line of the next, dear to the northern poets; and there is a partial but decided iteration of link-words in the same manner in Plays vi, xiv, xxxii, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii."

<sup>67</sup> vi, 18-9, 23-4; vii, 5-7; ix, 1-3, 4-5, 12-13, 20-1, 22-3; xiv, 4-5, 11-2, 16-7, 18-9, 20-1; xv, 1-2, 9-10, 11-4; xxxii, 17-21, 22-31, 34-5, 36-40; xxxiii, 2-3, 5-6, 7-8, 11-2, 31-2; xxxvi, 1-8, 18-20, 29-31; xxxvii, 9-10, 11-2, 17-9, 22-3, 28-9, 31-2; xxxviii, 4-5, 34-6, 41-2, 46-7, 56-7, 60-1, 66-8; xl, perfect linking throughout; xlii, 1-2, 4-5, 6-7, 13-4, 17-19, 27-8; xliv, 2-3, 4-5, 9-14; xlvi, 1-8, 10-13, 14-6, 17-20, 23-4.

<sup>68</sup> ix, 3-4, 21-2; xxxii, 21-2, 31-2; xxxvii, 16-7, 20-1.

<sup>69</sup> (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, xi, 67, "Repetition is less common than in the Simple Ballad, and what there is does not take the form of elaborate stanzaic groups, but consists, ordinarily, in the binding together of stanza and stanza by repeating, usually with a change in the rhyme word, the last two lines of the first in the first two of the second." [Note:] "As in *Dick o the Cow* (185, 8 and 9, 22 and 23, 26 and 27, 43 and 44)."

frequently enough to suggest a conscious desire to link: "Sir Andrew Barton"<sup>70</sup> in 82 stanzas shows 19 instances of linking, 9 of which belong to type (1); Ballad 175, "The Rising in the North" shows similar linking, e. g., 33-4, also considerable linking by rhyme alone. Below<sup>71</sup> is given a brief statement of the linking in these ballads.

Stanza-linking in "The Pearl" is so familiar that it would need only a passing mention were it not that it presents some interesting variations from the type in S.P., and in the romances and poems so far studied. The linking devices of "The Pearl" have been carefully described by Osgood in his edition.<sup>72</sup> A quotation of the closing verses of the last stanza of group I and the link of the first two stanzas of group II will illustrate the somewhat elaborate scheme:

I slode upon a slepyng-slaste——

On þat prec(i)os perle wythouten *spot*.

6.

Fro *spot* my spyryt þer sprang in space,  
My body on balke þer bod in sweuen;

For wern neuer webbez þat wyzes weuen  
Of half so dere *adub*(be) mente.

7.

*Dubbed* wern alle þo downes sydes.

<sup>70</sup> Child's *Ballads*, no. 167a.

<sup>71</sup> Types (1) and (2): 167a, 1-2, 11-2, 14-5, 17-8, 41-2, 44-5, 64-5, 66-7, 74-5, 175, 6-7, 16-7, 22-3, 32-4, 36-7, 39-40. 185, 3-4, 10-1, 22-3, 26-7, 37-8, 39-40. Type (3): 167a, 8-9. 175, 37-8. Type (4): 167a, 2-3, 9-10, 12-3, 15-6, 48-50, 58-9, 67-8, 76-7. 175, 8-9, 13-5. 185, 8-9, 12-3, 28-9, 43-4, 52-3, 55-7, 58-9.

<sup>72</sup> P. xlv: "Each stanza is linked to the next by the recurrence of its last word in the first line following (*concatenatio*). Furthermore, the stanzas fall into twenty groups, each group consisting of five stanzas with a common refrain. Though this refrain is varied slightly between stanza and stanza within the group, the last word of it is always the same, which, of course, makes the "c"-rime throughout a group the same. The refrain and *concatenatio* thus produce an effect of both pause and continuity between stanzas, which is one of the most charming external traits of the poem. Somewhat the same effect is produced between group and group by the *concatenatio* which unites them, and by the change of refrain which distinguishes them."

"Withouten spot" is the refrain of group I and "spot" the linking word for every stanza. The same word links the two groups but at the end of the first stanza of group II a new refrain "adubement" is taken up, and this or some form of it becomes the linking word for every stanza in group II.

The word refrain suggests that this linking is somewhat different from that which we have been studying heretofore. In S.P. and the other poems each stanza had a new link, primarily for the useful purpose of aiding the memory; here the same link recurs for five stanzas forming also a refrain, and seems not so much useful as ornamental. The system of "The Pearl" is in some respects more elaborate than that of S.P., in some respects simpler. The repetition involves the refrain, but it is always only one word, never a full verse, or a phrase. The repeated word occurs always within the last verse of the one stanza and the first of the next, never within four instead of two adjoining verses. Linking by related words is not unknown (e. g., 37-8), but there seems to be no dependence on alliteration as a sole device. It is a significant comment on the failure of linking in S.P. that even in this highly artistic poem, linking fails twice.<sup>73</sup> "The Pearl" was probably written for readers, not for hearers like S.P. It seems to show an influence of Romance or Latin models, which is not clear in the poems we have been studying.

The combination of linking with a regular refrain which we have examined in "The Pearl" appears also in certain "shorter poems of the fourteenth century, chiefly religious," to which Osgood has called attention because they are written in the same twelve-line stanza as "The Pearl." Most of these show the refrain without linking, but some few take up the refrain at the beginning of the next stanza: E. E. T. S., XXIV: 12, 18; CXVII: 658, 672. The first is a typical example: each stanza ends with the verse, "So be my coumfort, crist *ihesus*," and the following stanza always begins with "*Ihesu*." In the song on p. 18 the second word instead of the last of the refrain is repeated.

<sup>73</sup> 51-2, 60-1. In the latter place linking fails according to the system of "The Pearl" because the refrain and linking word is "ryȝt," but there is some repetition, such as we might find in S.P. The linking word itself is taken up in verse 3 of the second stanza, but such linking is more remote than we dared to consider legitimate even in the less artistically perfect poems and romances. The second stanza also begins with a proper name.

Other examples of refrain and linking, not cited by Osgood because they appear in poems of different stanzaic structure, may be found in the same MSS. E. E. T. S., XV: 174; XXIV: 22, 88; CXVII: 493, 696, 699, 704. In the first of these the refrain, and consequently the linking word, is in Latin;<sup>74</sup>

Or aungelis in hevyn towre!  
*Gaude, flore virginali!*

*Gaude, goddys spouse so deere!*

In several of the other poems linking frequently fails. In the lyric XXIV, 22, the device is carried only through the first eight stanzas.

Before leaving the discussion of this type of linking which involves the refrain, it may be well to note that a similar device, one degree less elaborate, may be found in some of the poems of MS. Harleian 2253, mentioned above. GL. IV, VIII, and IX are distinguished by the fact that each stanza begins with the same word or words: "Suede iesu," "Jesu," "Moder," but there is no refrain at the end of the preceding stanza which serves as a link. It looks, however, as if the two devices had some relation to each other, in development.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Written by D. T. Mylle in 1508, according to E. E. T. S., XV, pp. xviii and 146.

<sup>75</sup> A study of the versification of these poems reveals evidence of a rule, although nobody has called attention to it before, that linking may be omitted whenever successive stanzas begin with the same word. For example, GL. IV, every stanza of which begins with the words: "Suede iesu," although it has some alliteration, shows no trace of linking. The same is true of GL. VIII, every stanza of which begins with "Iesu." The rule can be worked out best in GL. XVI. Stanza I begins with the word "God," and is linked at the end to stanza II. Stanzas II and III are unlinked, but stanza III begins with the word "God." Stanzas III and IV are linked. Stanzas IV and V are unlinked, but stanza V begins with the word "God." Stanzas V, VI and VII (the last) are linked. This poem has also the device of beginning and ending with exactly the same verse, "God, þat al þis myhtes may."

In GL. IX, so soon as the stanzas cease to begin with the word "modor," linking is introduced. See stanzas IX-X and X-XI. In WL. V the stanzas are tied together by the initial words "heo" or "hire," and in WL. IX by the word "wymmen," except where they are linked. This rule, which allows linking at the end of a stanza to be omitted when successive stanzas begin with the same word, appears to be observed at least occasionally in later English lyrics, and

V

Three of the romances which have been shown to have a great deal of stanza-linking, "The AunTERS," "The Avowynge," "Sir Degrevant," exhibit also the unusual peculiarity of beginning and ending with the same words.

The English metrical romances, which begin and end with exactly the same word or words are as follows:—

The AunTERS (Ed. Robson, the Lambeth, Douce and Thornton MSS. vary slightly).	In the tyme of Arther thys antur be-tydde, In the tyme of King Arthore This anter be-tidde.
The Avowynge (Ed. Robson).	He that made us on the mulde, That made us on the mulde.
Sir Degrevant (Ed. Halliwell).	Lord Gode in Trynité, Yeff home hevene ffor to se, That loveth the gamene and gle And gestys to ffede.

(These four verses are repeated precisely at the end.)

Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyst. (Ed. Morris, E.E.T.S.)	Siþen þe sege & þe assaut wats sesed at Troye After þe segge & þe asaute wats sesed at Troye.
--	--

in the York Plays. For example, in York Plays, VI, stanzas 6, 7, and 11, begin with the word "Adam," and are not linked. As might be expected, linking sometimes occurs in plays of the other cycles, e. g., Towneley Plays, XIV.

This MS., Harleian 2253, was written in Herefordshire, about 1307 (Wright, *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*, Percy Soc., IV, p. v; Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.*, p. iii), but most of the poems give evidence of having been copied from more northern dialects, and are therefore older. Perhaps some of them date back to the middle of the thirteenth century.

Of the poems in Harleian 2253 the following are linked almost or quite completely in the "Sir Perceval" manner: PL. II, GL. I, WL. IV, VI. The two parts of the strophe are uniformly linked together, but not the separate strophes in WL. I. The following show considerable linking: WL. VII, GL. III, XVI. The following have a few linked strophes: WL. V, IX. One of the French poems in this MS. (Wright, p. 107) has its stanzas tied together by a recurrence of the word "pie" in the first line of each stanza. Neither linking nor alliteration appears.

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Two other poems often thought to be by the author of "Syr Gawayn" should be noticed:

Pearl  
(Ed. Osgood, 1906).

Perle plesaunte to Prynces paye,  
 . . . . .  
 Ande precious perles unto his pay.

Patience  
(Ed. Bateson,  
Manchester, 1912).

Patience is a (nobel) poynt, þas hit displese  
 ofte.  
 . . . . .  
 þat pacience is a nobel poynt, þas hit displese  
 ofte.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>76</sup> The following romances and romance poems are mentioned here for the sake of completeness. They seem not to be examples of the device under consideration, but of another habit, that of beginning and ending with a doxology. (Compare, however, "Sir Degrevant"):

Ysumbras. (Ed. Schleich,  
*Palaestra* 15.)

Jesu Crist, heuen kyng,  
 Graunte us alle his blyssynge  
 And heuen to oure mede  
 . . . . .  
 Praye we to Jesu heuen, kyng  
 He gyffe us alle his dere blyssynge  
 Nowe and euer mare.

Libeus Desconeus. (Ed.  
Kaluza, *Alteng. Bib.*)

Ihesu Crist our saviour  
 And his modir þat swete flour  
 Helpe hem at her nede.  
 . . . . .  
 Jhesu Crist our saviour  
 And his moder þat swete flour  
 Graunte us good endinge.

Octavian, Southern Ver-  
sion. (Ed. Sarrazin, *Alt-  
teng. Bib.*)

Jesu, that was with spere ystongne  
 And for us hard and sore yswonng  
 . . . . .  
 As he for us on the rode hyng  
 Wyth spere ystong.

Emere. (E. E. T. S., Ex.  
Series 99.)

Ihesu þat ys kyng in trone  
 As þou shoope boþe sonne and mone,  
 . . . . .  
 Ihesu þat settes yn þy trone  
 So graunte us wyth þe to wone  
 In þy perpetuall glorie!

VI

The new points which it is hoped that this paper may be thought to establish are as follows:

"Sir Perceval" is more completely linked than has heretofore been recognized. Any demonstration that the linking in S.P. is almost complete brings with it a certainty that our one MS. of the romance is very nearly free from gaps. That is to say, we have the story about as it was told by the poet who put it into its present linked stanzaic form. Of course, this nameless English poet may have omitted things that were in his original.

By comparison of the four MSS. of "The AunTERS" it has been shown that this romance was once linked throughout. The archetype, to which all of the MSS. go back, must have been the work of a skillful versifier and it is logical to suppose that this skilled craftsman was the man who combined the episodes of the appearance of the ghost and the combat of Gawain and Galeron which make up the romance of "The AunTERS of Arthur." These episodes then are not to be regarded as floating stories tacked together by a stupid compiler. Rather they were worked up into one poem by an unknown artist who bound all the stanzas of his romance together by intricate devices, and called attention to the unity of his narrative by repeating at the close two verses from the beginning as if to say "This is one work."

It has been pointed out that the system of linking in S.P. and the other poems is based on verbal repetition rather than on repeti-

Sir Triamour. (Ed. Halliwell, *Percy Soc.* 16.)

Heven blys that alle schalle wyne,  
Schylde us from dedly synne,  
And graunte us the blys of hevyn!

God bryng us to that blys  
That evyr schalle laste without mys!  
Amen! Amen! for charytee!

Child of Bristowe. (Ed. Hazlitt, *Early Pop. Poetry of Eng.*)

He that made bothe helle and hevne  
Man and woman in dayes vii

Now he that made bothe helle and hevne  
And alle the worlde in dayes sevene  
Graunte us alle his grace.

Also "Kyng Alisaunder" (Ed. Weber) shows traces of this same peculiarity.



tion of thought, that it very surely involves more than the final verse of one stanza and the first of the next, because sometimes adjacent sentences not adjacent verses are linked, and that it includes word-echo and perhaps alliteration. Certainly alliteration often enforces other types of linking.<sup>77</sup> Linking by word-echo, linking by repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive stanzas, and the omission of linking when a stanza begins with a proper name are other points which have been here for the first time indicated in English verse.

Stanza-linking belongs almost exclusively to northern poetry; it always occurs in connection with alliteration; it appears first in its fully developed form in popular songs of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, and it may be differentiated from the linking of "The Pearl," which involves a refrain, and appears to be of a less popular origin. \*It seems to me that this points to a popular, native origin for stanza-linking in English rather than to a foreign and artistic one.

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<sup>77</sup> The evidence of the different MSS. of "The Auntes" tends to show that linking by alliteration alone formed no part of the original scheme, and appears only where the gleeman has forgotten an original word-echo. This suggests that linking by alliteration was at first adventitious and accidental. Still, Miss Medary seems to have shown that in some cases (e. g., the shorter poems) it may have been felt as a link.—A. C. L. B.



## ON THE ORIGIN OF STANZA-LINKING IN ENGLISH ALLITERATIVE VERSE

### I

IT has been pointed out by Miss Medary that, of all early English metrical romances, only six: "Sir Perceval," "The AunTERS," "The AvowyngE," "Sir Degrevant," "Sir Tristrem" and "Thomas of Erceldoune," have linking between any large number of their stanzas. Miss Medary has noted that all six depend for their metrical effects largely upon alliteration, and were written in the north of England. She has concluded that stanza-linking is especially significant in the first four,<sup>1</sup> three of which: "The AunTERS," "The AvowyngE," "Sir Degrevant," show the unusual peculiarity of beginning and ending with the same words. One should further observe that all four are Arthurian, and that "Sir Tristrem" and "Thomas of Erceldoune" deal with cognate material.

What is the origin of these complicated devices, of which stanza-linking is the chief? Schipper, in his *Englische Metrik*, I, 316 f., regards stanza-linking in English as borrowed from French or Provençal lyrics. He calls attention to the *coblas capfinidas* in Provençal, and points out that even the extreme kind of *concatenatio* in Provençal, according to which not merely stanzas but every line is linked together by repetition, has one imitation in English—the "Rhyme-beginning-Fragment," printed by Furnivall.<sup>2</sup> He thinks Romance influence distinctly traceable in the twelve-line strophe of "The Pearl."

That the "Pearl"-linking is borrowed from some Romance

<sup>1</sup> Three of these romances occur in the Thornton MS.: "Sir Perceval," "The AunTERS," and "Sir Degrevant" (also "Thomas of Erceldoune").

<sup>2</sup> Early English Poems and Lives of Saints, *Phil. Soc.*, 1862, p. 21.

"Loue hauiþ me broȝt in liþir þoȝt.  
þoȝt ic ab to blinne;  
Blinne to þenç hit is for noȝt;  
Noȝt is loue of sinne.  
Sinne me hauiþ in care ibroȝt,  
Broȝt in moçhil unwinne, etc."

model, appears plausible, but, as Miss Medary points out, it is different from the "Sir Perceval"-linking, and is closer to the refrain. Linking by refrain is common in French, in Provençal, and in Mediæval Latin, and its source demands no special inquiry here. Numerous examples of refrain are in all collections of Middle English lyrics.

Of course the authors of the linked English poems, in Harleian 2253, were familiar with Romance, as well as Latin poetry—indeed, French poems apparently composed in England, occur in the same MS. It can hardly be said, however, that the "Sir Perceval"-linking is modelled on any Romance *concatenatio*. Romance poems are rarely alliterative for one thing, and obviously the English linking by alliteration could hardly be borrowed from them. The English poems and romances are seldom the work of literary craftsmen, and the appeal is throughout to a popular uncritical audience. These are not conditions which favor the introduction of unfamiliar French verse forms.<sup>3</sup> It may of course be that the English linking started from the Romance "rime concatenée," as a beginning,<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Miss Strong, "The Tail-Rhyme Strophe," *P. M. L. A.*, XXII, esp. p. 414.

<sup>4</sup> Stanzas linked by rhyme without repetition of words occur frequently in Romance. They were called in Provence "coblas capfinidas," or "capcaudadas"; Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 79. Fifteenth century terms for this linking were: "rime enchainée," "rime concatenée," "vers entrelacez," and "rims serpentins"; Mari, "Ritmo Latino e terminologia Ritmica medievale," *Studi di Fil. Rom.*, VIII, 83; L. E. Kastner, *Rev. des Lang. Rom.*, VII, 25 (1904). The practice existed also in Portuguese, Diez, *Ueber die erste Portugiesische Kunst und Hofpoesie*, p. 61; and in Spanish, Wolf, *Studien*, p. 116, note; 211, note; 261.

Stanzas linked by exact repetition of the final word at the beginning of the next stanza occur less frequently, and those linked by repetition of other than the rhyme word are rare. References to poems linked by verbal repetition in Old French, Italian, and Middle High German are collected by Mätzner, *Altfranzösischen Lieder*, p. 159 f. I have noted examples in Mahn, *Werke der Troubadours*, I, 67, IV, 6, 14, 56, 64, 66, 69, 76; Scheler, *Trouvères Belges*, II, 143. Alliteration as an ornament is not unknown in Provençal poetry ("replicatio multiplicada"). One poem of Guiraut Riquier (dated 1283) even combines with alliteration linking both by word and by alliteration, Mahn, IV, 53. Cf. also Peire d'Auvergne, ed. Zenker; and Scholz, "Die Allit. in der altprov. lyric," *Zt. f. rom. phil.*, XXXVII, 385. But these stray peculiarities seem to have nothing to do with English alliterative verse.

Professor F. M. Warren, to whom I am indebted for references, has studied parallelism in early French poetry in *Mod. Phil.*, III, 179 f. On *concatenatio* in English cf. Schipper, *Grundriss der Eng. Metrik*, p. 277; Kaluza, *Eng. Metrik*, p. 198.

developed independently as a popular form in England, but it would seem as if other forces were at work.

Sir Frederick Madden<sup>5</sup> long ago suggested that English stanza-linking was modelled after the *concatenatio* of popular Latin poetry in the middle ages, and gave as an instance a Latin "Poem on the Scottish Wars from the time of Edward I," in Harleian 2253 (Ed. Wright, *Pol. Songs*, p. 166). But this Latin poem seems rather itself to be modelled on English usage.<sup>6</sup> Other Latin poems<sup>7</sup> in the same MS., composed in the same stanza,<sup>8</sup> show no trace of *concatenatio*. I have not found any considerable body of Latin poetry which could have served as a model for the "Sir Perceval"-linking.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Syr Gawayne*, p. 328 (1839).

<sup>6</sup> Such is Miss Medary's opinion, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, VII, p. 260-1. Cf. Ten Brink, *Gesch. d. Eng. Litt.*, I, 382 (speaking of the poems in Harleian 2253): "Dass ganze Formeln und Verse aus dem Volkslied in die Lieder der Kleriker übergegangen sind, ist nicht zu bezweifeln."

<sup>7</sup> Another Latin poem, written near Durham in the thirteenth century, and printed by Hall as an appendix to his *Poems of Minot*, pp. 112-120, has alliteration and occasional stanza-linking. But it also seems a reflection of English usage.

<sup>8</sup> Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 206, 262.

<sup>9</sup> Professor Warren has quoted to me from a rhymed Latin letter of Baudri de Bourgeil (end of twelfth century) to Adela of Blois, which repeats the final hemistich of one couplet in the first hemistich of the next, but without alliteration. Faral, *Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes et Romans Courtois*, pp. 26 f., quotes a Latin poem of Primat (eleventh century) which combines *concatenatio* with some alliteration; also on page 23 a Latin poem, attributed either to Walter Map or to Gautier de Châtillon with elaborate *concatenatio*, cf. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, VI, 129, 229.

In my search for Latin poems with *concatenatio* I have examined (besides Hauréau, and Wright, *Pol. Songs*) the following: du Méril, *Poésies inédits du Moyen âge; Poésies Populaires Latines ant. au 12e siècle* (on repetition and stanza-linking cf. I, 150, note 1, *fin*. "Mihi est propositum," II, 206-7, shows linking between stanzas 1-2 and 2-3). Wright, *Latin Poems att. to W. Mapes*, 1841; *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century*, 2 vols., 1872; *Pol. Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, 2 vols., 1859-61; Johannis de Garlandia, *De triumphis Ecclesiae*, 1856. Schmeller, *Carmina Burana*, 1904; Ch. de Smedt, *Gestes des évêques de Cambrai*, 1880; Champollion-Figeac, *Hilarii versus et ludi*, 1838; Duemmler and Trabe, *Poetarum Lat. Medii Aevi*, 4 vols., in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, 1880-1914; *Pol. Poems*, ed. Madden, *Archaeologia*, XXIX, 1892; ed. Kingsford, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1890; *Adam of St. Victor*, ed. Wrangham, 3 vols., 1881; Leyser, *Historia Poetarum*, 1721; Dreves, *Analecta Hymnici Medii Aevi*, in 53 vols., which include Daniel's *Thesaurus*. The only Latin poems with stanza-linking that I have found are the five following, all in the *Analecta*: IV, 94, "De Sancto Augustino," which consists of eight linked quatrains in a fifteenth

Stanza-linking in English may have started from some hint given by Latin usage, but it had an independent development. One is curious to know what other forces, if any, were at work.

## II

It is a remarkable fact that stanza-linking in English, if it be indeed modelled on Romance or on Latin usage, always occurs in connection with alliteration. Romances and poems which depend for their effects upon rhyme and eschew alliteration, abound in Middle English, but not one of these, so far as I know, shows any stanza-linking. Nor do unalliterative poems exhibit the device of beginning and ending with the same word. Stanza-linking and beginning and ending with the same word are practices which were followed only in the West Midland and the North of England,<sup>10</sup> in century MS.; XII, 216, "De S. Nicolao Tolentino," which consists of six linked quatrains in a fifteenth century MS.; XX, 228, "Conductus ad Poculum," which is in the Sens "Feast of Fools" and consists of ten linked quatrains in a thirteenth century MS.; and especially XXXII, 133, "Maria virgo virginum," which is in 46 linked quatrains, and XXXVI, 129-207, "Soliloquium sive Psalterium B. V. M.," which has 1401 linked quatrains. The last two are in the same fifteenth century MS., and by the same author. The MS. notes that this author was thought to be still living.

These poems show that stanza-linking was known in mediaeval Latin, so that influence from this verse on English romances is within the range of possibility. The long psalter of 1401 stanzas might possibly be regarded as a parallel to the rather long linked English romances.

But this psalter, like the other linked poems in Latin, makes no special use of alliteration. It is difficult to believe that these religious poems were models for northern English alliterative romances. We should have to assume that Latin poems of a more popular character having linked stanzas existed, and influenced English writers. And it is difficult to see why this Latin verse should have influenced alliterative verse only, and operated entirely in the north of England. The peculiarity of beginning and ending with the same word is not, to my knowledge, known in Latin verse.

<sup>10</sup> MS. Harleian 2253 was written in Herefordshire, and the poems were composed in the West Midland, or even more northerly dialect, not in the South, as Bökdeker thought. See Schuller, "Ueber die Sprache und Metrik . . . der Lieder des MS. Harl. 2253," *Herrig's Archiv*, 71, 153 f.; and Heider, *Untersuch. zur mittelleng. erotischen lyrik*, 1250-1300, Halle diss., 1905. Bökdeker's PL. II is a possible exception, but cannot be proved to have been originally written in Kentish as Bökdeker supposed. "Sir Tristrem," "Sir Perceval," "The AunTERS," "Sir Degrevant," "The Avowynge," "Thomas of Erceldoune," "A Ballad on the Scottish Wars," "Minot's Poems," "The Book of the Howlat," "Rauf Coilgear," "Golagrus and Gawain," and the York Plays are of course all of the West Midland, or the "North Countree."

districts where, as is well known, alliterative verse flourished. Although this does not exclude a possible origin in Latin or French, it certainly makes against it.

No one seems to have suggested, in this connection, a possible influence of Irish and Welsh verse upon English alliterative poetry of the Welsh marches. 'To begin and end a poem with the same word was the rule in Irish,<sup>11</sup> and Irish poems of the early middle ages had not infrequently stanza-linking, both by alliteration and otherwise.

Stanza-linking, effected sometimes by repetition of a word, sometimes by syllable-echo, and sometimes by alliteration alone, was designated in Middle-Irish "*fidrad freccomail*." It is called by modern Irish scholars *conachlann*.<sup>12</sup> Stanza-linking was used particularly in longer poems, which thus form a parallel to the linking of the long English romances, "Sir Perceval," "The Aun-

<sup>11</sup> The habit of beginning and ending a poem with the same word or words is Celtic and cannot, so far as I know, be traced in early French or Latin poetry. Mone, *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi*, III, 241, quotes from a MS. of the eighth century a Latin poem: "Brigit beatissimae," which ends with the word "beatissimae," but he adds that the poem is in an Irish hand, and by an Irish poet who wrote in Ireland. Mone says: "Diese Manier (of marking the end by repetition of the first word) wurde auch hie und da von teutschen Dichtern nachgeahnt," and gives as an example No. 642 of his collection, which is from a St. Gall MS. At St. Gall, of course, Irish influence may be suspected. The rule in Irish is as follows: "The concluding word of every poem must repeat either the whole or part of the first word (or first stressed word) of the poem," Kuno Meyer, *Primer of Irish Metrics*, 1909, p. 12. This same rule is widely observed in Welsh poetry of the twelfth and following centuries.

<sup>12</sup> Stokes, in his edition of *Féilire Oengusso*, *Henry Bradshaw Soc.*, p. xlii, 1905, discusses this and gives some references. See also Douglas Hyde, *Lit. Hist. of Ireland*, p. 414, note 1: *Story of Early Gaelic Lit.*, p. 157. Those not at home in Irish learning may be interested in some stanzas in which Dr. Hyde has translated and exactly imitated the metre of the *Oengus*:

"Bless O Christ my speaking  
King of heavens seven  
Strength and wealth and power  
In this hour be given.

"Given O thou brightest,  
Destined not to sever,  
King of angels glorious  
And victorious ever.

"Ever o'er us shining, etc."

ters," etc. The *Félire Oengusso*,<sup>13</sup> which extends to 591 stanzas, is linked throughout, sometimes by repetition of a word or syllable, oftener by alliteration alone. So are ten poems<sup>14</sup> which form an epilogue to the *Saltair na Rann*. Kuno Meyer has studied stanza-linking in an eleventh century Irish poem about Brendan,<sup>15</sup> also in other Irish poems.<sup>16</sup> More examples of linking by words or syllables may be observed in Irish poems in the *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*.<sup>17</sup>

### III

Of still greater interest in this connection is the extraordinary vogue of these devices of stanza-linking, which is called in Welsh *adgymeriad*,<sup>18</sup> and of beginning and ending a poem with the same word, in Welsh poetry of the twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries. Whoever turns over the pages of *Myvyrian Archaiology* containing poetry of this period, will be struck by the pre-

<sup>13</sup> Stokes thinks that this dates from 800c (p. vii). Thurneysen, *ZCP.*, VI, 8.

<sup>14</sup> Nos. 151-162, pp. 114-20 in the *Saltair na Rann*, ed. Stokes, 1883. It is to be noted also that every one of these poems begins and ends with the same word or words. Some of the other poems, e. g., nos. 1, 111, 112, are linked at least in part. The *Saltair na Rann* dates probably from the eleventh century, cf. p. i.

<sup>15</sup> "Ein mittellirisches Gedicht auf Brendan den Meerfahrer," Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, XXV, 436 f. (1912).

<sup>16</sup> "Ueber die älteste Irische Dichtung," Berlin *Abhandlungen*, phil.-hist. Classe, no. 6, p. 8 ff. (1913).

<sup>17</sup> Ed. Stokes, 1890. The three following stanzas are quoted from p. 63:

"Acinis Senan tes ind ailen || Arda Neimidh,  
fria crabudh ceart, cidh nach commaith || ba feacht feidhil.

Feidhligius ann cethracha lá || la fir-Fiadhait  
nogu táinic *Raphél aingel* || cruth adfiadhait.

Asrubart ris *Raphél aingeal* || ro ataire, (?)  
ára tesséadh, taghraim sonæ, || do Tuaim Aibhe."

Compare p. 103, and poems in the *Boroma*, from LL., a MS. of 1150, in O'Grady, *Sil. Gad.*, I, 364-6. (No attempt is made in the present paper to correct the texts as printed by the various editors.)

<sup>18</sup> Stokes, *Fél. Oeng.*, p. xlii; Meyer, Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, XXV, p. 437, note 1. Loth, *La Métrique Galloise*, II, 276, calls stanza-linking "cyngog."

ponderance of linked stanzas<sup>19</sup> and by the continual habit of beginning and ending with the same word. No such body of linked poetry has ever been pointed out, either in mediaeval French or in Latin.

Welsh poetry of this period conformed to very intricate laws of assonance and sound repetition, which are unknown to English but the general effect of Welsh poetry, with its constant repetition of consonants, as well as of vowels, may have sounded to a listening English gleeman not unlike his own alliterative verse. The reader will observe in the following stanzas, which are all quoted from the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, and date between 1200 and 1300, that alliteration is an ever-present feature. These stanzas, which are taken from poems that are linked throughout, exhibit in Welsh the various kinds of linking which have been pointed out by Miss Medary in the English alliterative romances.

The following stanzas from an elegy on the Welsh prince, Maredudd ab Owain, written by Y Prydydd Bychan (The Little Bard), 1210-1260, show type (1), linking by a phrase—*deu hanner* (divided into halves)—*Myv. Arch.*, 2d ed., 1870, p. 261:

Oet tec rwyf rwysc oliffer  
Oet cleu darpar clod dirper  
Oet glew maredut oet gloewner esgud  
Yn ysgwyd *deu hanner*.  
Oet *deu hanner* ber bar gwythrut yn llaw  
Gwr ual llew digythrut  
Oet erwan gwaew preitwan prut  
Aruoll mawrgoll maredut.

Stanzas from another poem (p. 260) by the same bard and addressed to the same prince, show type (2), linking by a single word:

Llaw ar bar anwar enwawc varedut  
Dreic rwytuut rutuoawc  
Kynnyt blas dy digassawc  
Kynnwalch muner ner *nerthawc*.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Loth, *La Métrique Galloise*, II, 206, "Il y a cependant une particularité à relever dans ce poème (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 246) qui caractérise les compositions de ce type au treizième siècle: c'est la reprise du mot final de la strophe à l'initiale ou au moins au début de la strophe suivante, soit par une partie du mot, la première syllabe par exemple, soit par le mot entier."



Ym *neirthyawc* breinhyawc brenhin gwyr toruoet  
 Teruysc lloegyr y gelwir  
 Kymreisc wystlon a wystlir  
 Kymry ae dyry roc dir.

Type (3), linking by a cognate word may be illustrated from an elegy on Blegywryd (p. 265) by the same bard, which is linked by different inflectional forms of the verb—*darbod*:

Marw blegywryt bla wrthot galon  
 Wyf galar anoruot  
 Aerwalch balch bolchgled aruot  
 Eurwawr hoeddyl ddiruawr ddaruot.

*Deryw* Bleg. deurud arwyd hoew  
 Neum doeth hoet oe tramgwyd  
 Drutwalch hylwybyr ualch hylwyd  
 Dewr argeletyr da wr arglwyd.

Type (4), linking by the repetition of a word from the penultimate verse of one stanza in the first of the next is hard to find by itself in the *Myv. Arch.* The scarcity of this type of linking probably explains itself by the brevity of Welsh stanzas, four verses as against sixteen in the English linked romances. Type (4) occurs occasionally as a reinforcement to type (1). The following example is from an elegy on Maredudd ab Cynan by Llywarch ab Llywelyn (1160-1220), on p. 210:<sup>20</sup>

*Meibyon* dewr derynt ychlan  
 Mur greid kynniuyeid *kynan*  
 Dwyn *meibyon kynan* cyn bu llwyd yrun  
 Arwynawl ym plymnwyd.

Whereas in Irish poetry linking by alliteration is common and linking by repetition of words or syllables rare, in Welsh the reverse is true, so that examples of type (9), linking by alliteration alone, scarcely occur, and when they do turn up, appear to be reinforced by word-echo. (The uncertainty of linking by alliteration in English will be remembered.) In the following stanzas from an elegy

<sup>20</sup> Compare p. 235, col. 2, st. 2; p. 254, col. 1, st. 3; p. 257.



on Davydd Benfras (p. 255) by Bleddyn Vardd (1250-1290) linking is effected by alliteration but it is reinforced by vowel rhyme—*dri, tri*:

Pob deu pobyl dygyn eu colli  
Pob awr poen dramawr pob *dri*.  
  
Oet *tringar* an car cof newyt an peir  
Perygyl hiraeth peunyt.

These Welsh bards knew the rule, pointed out above<sup>21</sup> for the first time in English, that stanza-linking may be omitted whenever successive stanzas begin with the same word. This rule is observed in Irish linked poems.<sup>22</sup>

They seem also to have observed the rule that linking may be omitted when the first verse of a stanza contains a proper name. For example, the elegy on Goronwy ab Ednyved, by Bleddyn Vardd (p. 254), is linked throughout except at stanzas 4-5. The first verse of stanza five contains the hero's name:<sup>23</sup>

Kedawl *oronwy* kat uorgymlawd hard.

It is worth noting that occasionally both in Irish and in Welsh all methods of linking seem to fail.<sup>24</sup>

#### IV

All extant Welsh poems of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seem, like those from which quotation has been made, to be either addressed to princes or written for noble hearers. These

<sup>21</sup> ROMANIC REVIEW, VII, p. 266, n. 75. For Welsh examples, cf. *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 176, 186.

<sup>22</sup> Kuno Meyer, Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, vol. XXV, 437 (describing *fidrad freccomail*): "Das letzte Word jeder Strophe alliteriert mit einem der ersten Wörter der nächstfolgenden. Nur zwischen der ersten und zweiten Strophe fehlt diese Alliteration, und zwar deshalb, weil beide mit demselben Worte anfangen, . . . Diese Eigentümlichkeit der irischen Verskunst ist bisher noch nicht festgestellt worden. . . . Dieselbe Regel galt auch bei den kymrischen Barden. So zeigt ein Gedicht Cynddelws (Strachan, Introduction to Early Welsh, S. 234) *adgymeriad* in allen Strophen ausser in den sechs ersten, die alle mit 'asswynaf' anfangen."

<sup>23</sup> Compare p. 285, col. 2, st. 5.

<sup>24</sup> E. g., *Ffl. Oeng.*, March 7-8, 17-18, May 7-8.

pieces, intended for courtly audiences, can hardly have directly influenced the English romances. But stanza-linking is so dominant in all of this poetry that one is surely justified in holding that it must have characterized also popular Welsh poetry during the same epoch, especially since it was not merely a technical ornament, but served a useful purpose. This conclusion is confirmed by the prevalence both of stanza-linking and of the habit of beginning and ending with the same word in Irish, which shows that the devices were deeply rooted in Celtic verse. One is justified in believing that popular entertainers in Wales, who sang of King Arthur, must have observed them.<sup>25</sup>

Of the five English romances in question, two, "The AunTERS," and "The AvowyngE," do not seem to rest as a whole upon any French original. Their exact local geography proves that they were written in the neighborhood of Carlisle, and they seem to be based in part upon Celtic traditions, which we may suppose were current in that neighborhood. The part of "The AunTERS," for instance, which celebrates Galeron of Galloway, who must have been a Celtic hero, does not suggest a French original, nor does that part of "The AvowyngE" which exalts a hero, Badewyn of Briton, who was not popular in Anglo-Norman or French romance. It would be an attractive hypothesis to maintain that these two romances go back

<sup>25</sup> If the study of stanza-linking should establish some influence of Welsh popular verse upon English, it might help to explain one of the great puzzles of English literary history, namely, why the revival of English alliterative verse, which must have rested upon popular tradition from Anglo-Saxon times, showed such energy and persistence for two centuries, in the north and west of England, although the main current of verse elsewhere was steadily toward rhyme and metre according to French models. Saintsbury has frequently (*History of English Prosody*, I, 101, 126, 191; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, 422), and with some exaggeration, called attention to the difficulty of explaining the persistence of alliterative verse in the West Midland and the North. He has made an improbable suggestion that the alliterative revival was "connected with the intellectual and religious stir effected by Richard Rolle of Hampole."

If Welsh influence could be admitted one might imagine that literary history repeated itself. Just as the influence of Irish teachers and poets encouraged Anglo-Saxons in Northumberland in the seventh century to use their own language instead of Latin for religious and poetic purposes, so we could suppose that the respect felt for Welsh linked and alliterative poetry in the thirteenth century emboldened English gleemen along the old Welsh marches to resist French fashions and to practice their native alliterative verse.

in part to Welsh originals and exhibit in form as well as in story the influence of Welsh poetry.

Several scholars hold that "Sir Perceval" rests directly upon Welsh traditions without the intervention of a French intermediary. Those who take an opposite position and believe in a French source have alleged no positive evidence except two or three proper names (Acheflour, Lufamour) which could easily have entered the story in other ways. "Sir Degrevant" seems to be largely an invention of its author and cannot represent much popular tradition. It stands on a different plane from the others. One might note in passing, however, that it shows little evidence of a French original. "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" has not stanza-linking and not much should be made of its beginning and ending with the same word in Celtic fashion. It contains proper names which point to a French origin, but its metre is so peculiar that it cannot be an exact translation of anything in French. Its author had evidently in mind models very different from French, and there is nothing to combat the idea that these models may have included Celtic poetry.

If any interaction between Welsh and English poetry took place, no doubt can exist as to which way the influence would have operated. Welsh poets of this period had nothing to learn from the English poets. Welsh poetic art was highly developed.<sup>26</sup> Stanza-linking and the habit of beginning and ending with the same word are sufficiently striking and practical features of style to have been noticed by gleemen, who listened to the recitation of Welsh verse even if the Englishmen understood little of what they heard.

The suggestion of this paper can have, as the author realizes, but a tentative value. Additional researches into the intricacies of Welsh verse are needed. For the present it is enough to note that no considerable body of linked alliterative poetry has been pointed

<sup>26</sup> See J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, ed. 1913, I, 59, speaking of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Wales, he calls attention to numerous marriages uniting the Norman and the Welsh aristocracy, and adds: "La génération sortie de ces unions fut plus galloise souvent que française. C'est très probablement par eux ou sous leur influence, par leur ménestrels, que les traditions celtiques se propagèrent en Angleterre. . . . Les bardes gallois n'avaient rien à apprendre des trouvères français, et de fait nulle influence française n'apparaît à aucun point de vue, dans leur poésie. La poésie lyrique galloise est très supérieure à la poésie française."

out in early French or Latin.<sup>27</sup> In Wales, where poetic art was carried to great excellence, and where bards had special privileges,<sup>28</sup> such a body of linked alliterative verse existed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The only English romances in which stanza-linking is important, "Sir Perceval," "The Auntes," "The Avowynge," and "Sir Degrevant," originated in or near counties which were a part of the old Welsh borderland. The last three exhibit an unusual and Celtic peculiarity of beginning and ending with the same word. All four deal with Arthurian material. None shows unmistakable traces of an intermediate French original. Whether or not we believe that they derive their Arthurian plots from Welsh, with or without the intermediary of any French version, it seems possible that they may have been influenced by the form of Welsh poetry.

Stanza-linking existed both in mediaeval French and Latin, but no body of linked verse, such as might have served as a model for English writers, has been pointed out. If the device came from either of these sources it must have had in English a more or less independent development of which there is small trace, and its use must have gradually increased in alliterative verse until it finally found extended application in the long poems under discussion. Whatever be the history of stanza-linking, these poems are set apart by their alliteration from the main body of English verse, and could scarcely have been written under the *direct* influence of any known linked poem in French or Latin.

No explanation why stanza-linking appeared in the alliterative verse of the north of England only, and chiefly in four Arthurian romances has ever been given. I have followed a method of exclu-

<sup>27</sup> The question of the ultimate origin of stanza-linking and the other devices is of course not raised here. The point is that these devices existed in Irish and Welsh before their appearance in English. They may have been suggested to the Irish and Welsh by early Latin usage of the middle ages. Meyer (*Gesam. Abhand.*, II, 366 f.) would trace all alliteration back to Latin. The influence of the fifth-century grammarian, Virgilius Maro, cf. Zimmer, *Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, IX, 118, has not yet been worked out.

<sup>28</sup> Chaucer, it will be remembered, puts "the Bret Glascun" (*Y Bardd Glas Keraint*) among world-famous harpers, *Hous of Fame*, III, 1208. It will, perhaps, be objected that no influence of Welsh verse upon English has ever been pointed out. Not even the great Welsh poet of the fourteenth century, Davydd Ab Gwilym, has ever been shown to have influenced English writers.

sion, and I have found, as I believe, that direct influence from either Romance or Latin linked verse is improbable. I have, therefore, been led to consider the possible influence of the great body of Welsh linked poetry. Welsh harpers were the most famous in the world. The fact that three out of four extant linked English romances begin and end with the same word, a peculiarity never observed outside of Celtic verse, seems like a clue pointing to Celtic influences. My conclusion is that influence of Welsh upon English in the matter of these rather salient devices of stanza-linking and beginning-and-ending-with-the-same-word is the most probable hypothesis.

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## EL PRIMER LIBRO DE ESCRITOR AMERICANO

¿CUÁL es el libro más antiguo de escritor nacido en América? D. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, en su *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* (México, 1886), y D. José Toribio Medina, en su *Imprenta en México* (primer tomo, Santiago de Chile, 1912), mencionan más de diez obras publicadas en la Nueva España por autores allí nacidos, y unas cuantas de autores cuyo origen es dudoso. El primero de los indiscutiblemente mexicanos, según el orden de publicación, es Fray Juan de Guevara, autor del perdido manual de *Doctrina cristiana en lengua huasteca* que se imprimió en 1548.<sup>1</sup> El segundo en el orden, y primero que publica libro en castellano, es el agustino Fray Pedro de Agurto, autor del *Tractado de que se deben administrar los Sacramentos de la Sancta Eucharistia y Extrema unction a los indios de esta Nueva España* (1573).

Pero D. Carlos M. Trelles, en su *Ensayo de bibliografía cubana de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Matanzas, 1907), atribuye a la Isla de Santo Domingo, primer país colonizado por los españoles en el Nuevo Mundo, la probabilidad de haber dado cuna "al primer americano que escribió y publicó un libro," a saber, Fray Alonso de Espinosa. El libro en que funda su hipótesis el Sr. Trelles se intitula *Del origen y milagros de la Santa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria, que apareció en la Isla de Tenerife*, y, según la *Bibliotheca Hispana sive Hispanorum* de Nicolás Antonio (Roma, 1672), se publicó en 1541, siete años antes que el más antiguo opúsculo de autor mexicano.

Mis investigaciones me hacen creer que Santo Domingo produjo, en Fray Alonso, a uno de los más antiguos escritores de América. Fué del siglo en que vivieron las poetisas dominicanas Doña Leonor de Ovando y Doña Elvira de Mendoza; y, entre los mexicanos, no sólo Guevara y Agurto, sino también, junto a otros menos interesantes, Tadeo Niza (cuyo libro histórico sobre la conquista de México, que se dice escrito hacia 1548, no llegó a las prensas), el médico Fray Agustín Farfán, los poetas Francisco de Terrazas y

<sup>1</sup> Fray Juan de la Cruz, autor de la segunda *Doctrina cristiana en lengua huasteca*, impresa en 1571, no parece haber sido mexicano, sino español.

Antonio de Saavedra Guzmán, y el historiador Fray Agustín Dávila Padilla; y finalmente, entre los peruanos, Pedro de Oña y el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. Faltan datos para suponer que Fray Alonso haya sido el más antiguo de todos. El libro sobre la Candelaria de Tenerife, suyo o ajeno, no se publicó en 1541. La primacía continúa, pues, correspondiendo a Guevara y Agurto.

He aquí lo que sabemos sobre el escritor dominicano: "Fve hijo desta Ciudad (la de Santo Domingo) el Reuerendo Padre Fray Alonso de Espinosa, Religioso Dominico, que escrivio vn elegante Comentario fobre el Psalmo 44. *Eructavit cor meum verbum vonum.*" Esto dice Gil González Dávila en su *Teatro eclesiastico de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de S. Domingo y vidas de sus obispos y arzobispos*, que forma parte del *Teatro Eclesiastico de la Primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales* (dos volúmenes, Madrid, 1649-1655).

¿Es este Fray Alonso de Espinosa el mismo religioso dominico que escribió una exposición, en verso castellano, del Salmo XLI, *Quem ad modum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum*, y el libro sobre la Imagen de Candelaria, en el cual manifiesta haber recibido los hábitos en Guatemala? El P. Juan de Marieta, en la segunda parte de su *Historia eclesiastica de España* (tres volúmenes, Cuenca, 1594-1596), hace al autor de la *Candelaria* "natural de Alcalá de Henares" y declara que aun vivía en 1595. Nicolás Antonio identifica a los dos Espinosas, y asegura que otro tanto hace Fray Alonso Fernández. Probablemente, el P. Fernández hablaría del asunto en su *Notitia Scriptorum Praedicatoriae Familiae*, obra inédita de que hace mención el gran bibliógrafo del siglo XVII, pues nada descubro en la *Historia eclesiástica de nuestros tiempos* (Toledo, 1611).

Beristáin (*Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional*, tres volúmenes, México, 1816-1821) acepta la identificación de los dos Espinosas, pero con intención contraria a la de Nicolás Antonio: si el último aboga por el nacimiento europeo, el primero está por el americano. Hablan de Espinosa, según él, Altamuro, escritor de quien nada he podido conseguir, pero que no parece bien informado, y el P. Antonio Remesal, en cuya *Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala, de la Orden de nuestro Glorioso Padre Sancto Domingo* (Madrid, 1619) sólo he logrado noticias



(páginas 712 y siguientes) de otro Espinosa, oaxaqueño: este segundo o tercer Fray Alonso, mencionado allí brevemente, no parece haber estado en Guatemala, y Beristáin le distingue, con toda claridad, del personaje doble en quien me ocupo.

No estoy convencido de la identificación sostenida por Nicolás Antonio. Pero las pruebas en contra no son todavía completas. Los dos Espinosas coinciden en el nombre, el hábito religioso y probablemente la época: pues, aunque no poseemos fecha ninguna relativa al dominicano, se colige que vivió en el siglo XVI, ya que Fray Alonso Fernández escribía muy desde los comienzos del XVII. No coinciden ni en el lugar de nacimiento ni en las obras que escribieron. La semejanza en el tema de los Salmos es superficial: el fraile dominicano comenta, en prosa, el XLIV; el complutense amplifica, en verso, el XLI.

He aquí, textualmente, lo que dice Nicolas Antonio en la primera edición de su *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*:

"F. ALPHONSUS DE ESPINOSA, *Compluti* apud nos natus, cujus rei testis est Ioannes Marieta, Sancti Dominici amplexatus est apud Guatemalenses Americanos regulare Institutum; at aliquando in Fortunatas Insulas, potiorémque illarum Tenerifam advectus, non sine Superiorum auctoritate scripsit—

"Del origen, y Milagros de la Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria. Anno 1541. 8. Eodem tempore pro facultate impetrandâ typorum, & publicae lucis, ad Regium Senatam detulit, ut moris est, de *Interpretatione Hispanica Psalmi XLI, Quemadmodum desiderat Cervus ad fontes aquarum* & a se versibus facta.

"Alphonso Spinosae in Insula Sancti Dominici nato, hujusmet Instituti Dominicanorum, tribuit Aegidius Gonzalez Davila in *Theatro Indico-Ecclesiastico* elegantem *Commentarium super Psal. XLIV. Eructavit cor meum* & quem cur à superiore distinguam, non video, uti nec distinguit Alphonsus Fernandez."

Acéptese o no la identificación entre el Espinosa de Alcalá y el de Santo Domingo, la obra que, según el Sr. Trelles, podría ser la primera publicada por escritor americano, no se dio a luz en el año de 1541 sino en el de 1594. La fecha 1541 es una errata de las ediciones de Nicolás Antonio: es evidente que el bibliógrafo escribió 1591, pues alude a las licencias de publicación del libro sobre la Imagen de Candelaria, en las cuales se menciona el trabajo poético



sobre el Salmo XLI. La fecha 1545 que da Beristáin no es sino una nueva errata.

El libro sobre la Imagen de Candelaria no pudo imprimirse antes de 1591. El autor habla, en el capítulo III, de sucesos de 1590, y su *prohemio* está fechado en el Convento de la Candelaria, en Santa Cruz de Tenerife, a 14 de Mayo de 1590. La *aprobación*, dada por el buen poeta y fraile carmelita Pedro de Padilla, el privilegio del Rey (la una y el otro se refieren al libro sobre la Candelaria y al trabajo sobre el Salmo XLI), la licencia del Provisor de Las Palmas, el *testimonio* del Provisor de Canarias, todo tiene fecha de 1591. El libro lo imprimió, finalmente, Juan de León, en Sevilla, el año de 1594. Existen ejemplares de esta edición príncipe en las colecciones de la Sociedad Hispánica de América, en Nueva York, del Museo Británico y del Duque de T'Serclaes en Sevilla. He consultado el primero. Del segundo habla el insigne americanista Sir Clements Markham, y del tercero D. José Toribio Medina (*Biblioteca hispano-americana*, Santiago de Chile, 1898-1907). El ejemplar de la Sociedad Hispánica perteneció a León Pinelo; mide 14 cm. por 10, y, como está falto de portada y colofón, se han fotolitografiado éstos en hojas sueltas. La portada dice: "DEL ORIGEN / Y MILAGROS DE LA / Santa Imagen de nuestra Señora de / Candelaria, que aparecio en la Isla / de Tenerife, con la defcripcion / de esta Isla. / Compuesto por el Padre Fray Alonso de Espinosa / de la Orden de Predicadores, y Pre- / dicador de ella. / (Estampa de la Virgen con el Niño en brazos) / CON PRIVILEGIO. / Impreso en Seuilla en casa de Iuan de Leõ. / Año de 1594. / Acofta de Fernando Mexia mercader de libros."

La obra está dividida en cuatro partes o libros: el primero trata de los Guanches, antiguos habitantes de las Canarias; el segundo, de la aparición de la Imagen (antes de la conquista, según la leyenda); el tercero, de la invasión y conquista de las islas por los españoles; el cuarto, de los milagros atribuidos a la Imagen. Se reimprimió en 1848, como parte de la *Biblioteca Isleña* publicada en Santa Cruz de Tenerife, y recientemente la tradujo al inglés Sir Clements Markham, bajo el título de *The Guanches of Tenerife. The Holy Image of Our Lady of Candelaria and the Spanish Conquest and Settlement, by the Friar Alonso de Espinosa* (publicaciones de la Hakluyt Society; Londres, 1907).

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIEVAL LATIN RHET-  
ORICS ON THE ENGLISH WRITERS OF THE  
EARLY RENAISSANCE

ENGLISH poetry of the fifteenth century is difficult to understand because both the inaccuracy of the texts and the change in the pronunciation prevent a knowledge of the principles on which it was composed. In some cases the sequence is clear. The rime royal, for example, from Chaucer, thru Occleve-Lydgate-*Court of Love*-Hawes-Heywood, developed a definite literary tradition. The majority of the literature, however, seems chaotic, particularly in the case of the shorter lyric pieces. Yet these are the poems that seem to us charming and best worth the remembering.

Since such poems as these have no clear antecedents, the assumption is either that they arose spontaneously, or that they follow other than native precedent. If the first of these assumptions may be dismissed on the ground of improbability, the dilemma forces us to a consideration of non-English influence. Of such influences the first is obviously that of the medieval Latin. The presence of Latin words, Latin lines, and Latin tags show that both to the poet and his audience the Latin language was familiar. And in one case, that of the origin of the so-called "Skeltonic" meter, I think that I have shown the probability that the poets, English, French, or Italian, were composing in their respective vernaculars according to the principles of medieval Latin verse.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the form is so peculiar that it would be especially unsafe to generalize from that particular. Yet broadly Latin may be said to have been recognized as having furnished at least a background, and the hymns of the Church in many cases as having given the immediate source of inspiration.

But in this statement there are two factors that must be kept clearly in mind. The first is that, owing to the social conditions, the language was changing from Chaucerian to modern English.

<sup>1</sup> THE ROMANIC REVIEW, vol. VI, No. 4, October-December, 1915.

The result of this was that, since the writers were no longer able to follow the Chaucerian models, they were peculiarly susceptible to foreign influence. And the second factor is that this influence was predominantly that of the medieval Latin. The situation is confusing because with the revival of classical Latin, that is called humanism, there is the influence of two literatures upon English, and still both of the literatures are in the same language, Latin. Yet they are diametrically opposite in both form and content. The classical Latin is pagan, quantitative, and unrimed; the medieval Latin is Christian, accentual, and rimed. And whereas classical Latin is national and local, singing the pride of Rome, medieval Latin is necessarily without national values, and hymns the pride of the universal Church. Consequently, whereas the contact with classical Latin had a very minor effect upon the form of poetry, but did give an immense intellectual stimulus, the contact with medieval Latin gave a minor intellectual stimulus, but immensely affected poetic forms. Nor could it be expected to give a fresh point of view. The men writing in medieval Latin were the same men writing in the vernaculars, expressing only individual modifications of the common thought. Thus a translation from medieval Latin to English bears no mark of a foreign origin. This literature, therefore, was accessible and furnished models in great variety such as might easily be copied in the English language. Theoretically, therefore, writers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, would normally turn to the medieval Latin.

That this was the actual as well as the theoretic sequence, at least in one case, is shown in the poem *The epitaffe of the Moste noble and valyaunt Jaspar late Duke of Beddeforde*.<sup>2</sup> It purports to record the lament of "Smerte, maister de ses ouzeaus" on account of the death of the Duke of Bedford (1495). As the sole remaining copy has Pynson's device, its date of publication is probably slightly later. What makes it remarkable is neither the sincerity of the grief, nor the poetic excellence of the phrase, but the fact that the twenty metres employed and the various rhetorical tricks are carefully explained by side-notes in Latin. As these side-notes refer obviously to the rhetorical treatises, the poem may be regarded as a series of experiments, each of which is differentiated

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the App. of Dyce's *Skelton*, ii, 388.

and labeled. To comprehend what the author of this poem desired to accomplish it is necessary to refer back to the medieval rhetorics.

Altho naturally it is impossible to state exactly which treatises were in use in England in the fifteenth century, this fact is of minor consequence since all the treatises give, under slightly varying phraseology, more or less the same dicta. The immediate problem, then, is to formulate the principles of the medieval Latin, and then to show in each case its application to English verse. Of these there are three that need extended comment, the principles of ornamentation, of scansion of the lines, and of the combination of lines into stanza forms.<sup>3</sup>

By the word ornamentation I have translated, the Latin *colores*, a good Ciceronian word. Thus the *Exempla honestae vitae* begins.

Rethoricos a me petis, o dilecte, colores;  
Eloquit phaleras a Cicerone petas.

The same word is used by Hawes:

But rude people, opprest with blyndnes,  
Agaynst your fables wyll often solisgyse,  
Suche is theyr mynde, such is theyr folyshnes;  
For they beleve in no maner of wyse  
That under a colour a trouth may aryse.  
For folysh people, blynded in a matter,  
Will often erre whan they of it do clatter.<sup>4</sup>

Under this conveniently vague heading are grouped all figures of speech, such as antithesis, rhetorical question, et al. As, however, such figures of speech are by no means the peculiarity of verse, Nicolo Tibino insists correctly that a consideration of them belongs properly to rhetoric, not to poetics.<sup>5</sup> As such, there is no need to linger here. The significant fact to be recognized is that in the Latin the Englishman found all of these figures of speech explained

<sup>3</sup> This problem is simplified by Giovanni Mari who has collected eight poetics under the title *I trattati medievali di ritmica latina*, 1899.

<sup>4</sup> P. of P., Cap. ix. The N.E.D., giving this passage, explains *colour* as fiction, allegory; actually the meaning is more "poetic beauty," of which one is allegory.

<sup>5</sup> Mari, *op. cit.*, p. 469. Rethorica enim nil plus facit nisi quod orationes variis coloribus ac congruis exornat, prolixas breviando, correptas producendo.

and examples of their use. He thus had inherited a most elaborate and self-conscious system of rhetoric.

With the second variety of *colores*, however, the modern reader will find himself much less familiar. This consists in the arrangement of the words so distorted from their natural order that a desired effect may be produced. The simplest form of this is the anagram where the first letters of the first word in each line form a name. Such is the *Envoy of Alison*,<sup>6</sup> or the stanza in the *Ship of Fooles*,<sup>7</sup> eulogizing James of Scotland. But really to appreciate what is possible in this type of work, one must turn back to the poetic efforts of the pious monks, where not only the first letters spell a holy thought, but the final letters, and by means of a careful selection of medial letters, fancy patterns, such as crosses, diamonds, and squares, are outlined in the stanza itself. The amount of ingenuity required predicates a time of infinite leisure. Somewhat higher in the grade of poetic achievement may be ranked the color *repetitio*.<sup>8</sup> This repetition may be at the beginning, as in Hawes;<sup>9</sup>

Woe worth sin without repentance!  
Woe worth bondage without release!

or it may be at the end, as in Barclay;<sup>10</sup> where four stanzas end, *shame doth the ensue*; or it may be a combination of them both,<sup>11</sup> as in the following instance.

O sorrowe, sorowe beyonde al sorowes sure!  
All sorowes sure surmountynge, lo!  
Lo, which payne no pure may endure,  
Endure may none such dedely wo!  
Wo, alas, ye inwrapped, for he is go!  
Go is he, whose valyaunce to recounthe,  
To recounthe, all other it dyd surmounte.

This masterpiece of ingenuity is labeled by Smerte simply "Color, repeticio." The author here had not only to construct his stanza

<sup>6</sup> Skeat's *Chaucer*, vii, 360.

<sup>7</sup> Jamieson's edition, ii, 208.

<sup>8</sup> John of Garlandia, ed. Mari, *op. cit.*, 420.

<sup>9</sup> Example of Virtue, Arber, *op. cit.*, 234-5.

<sup>10</sup> Jamieson, *op. cit.*, ii, 164.

<sup>11</sup> Dyce's *Shelton*, ii, 389.

in the rime royal; in addition the final word of each line must begin the succeeding. Naturally he succeeds in little more than merely making sense. Another form, called by Smerte *iteracio*, that brings in the same idea of repetition, is the *traductio dictionis de casu in casum*. In the *Epistle ad Herennium* it is said that *traductio* is the figure, that when the same word is used frequently, not only it does not offend the mind, but makes the oration more closely knitted together.<sup>12</sup> This in the *Exempla honestae vitae* is illustrated as follows:

Grex illis cedit, gregis hos custodia tangit,  
In vigilantique gregi multiplicantque gregem.

Smerte version is:

Complayne, complayne, who can complayne;  
For I, alas, past am compleynte!  
To compleyne wyt can not sustayne,  
Deth me with doloure so hath bespraynte.

The important fact to remember here is that a continuous repetition of the same word does not argue an impoverished vocabulary, but that it was regarded as a poetic adornment.<sup>13</sup> One more illustration to show the dependence of these writers on the Latin. Retrograd or transformed verses are such that when read from left to right they mean one thing, and from right to left another.<sup>14</sup> A Latin illustration, taken from John of Garlandia, is

Esse decorem de te, presul, gens provida dicit.

<sup>12</sup> Ad Herenn., IV, 14, 20: Traductio est, quae facit, uti, cum idem verbum crebrius ponatur, non modo non offendant animum, sed etiam concinniores reddat.

<sup>13</sup> Tertius modus dicitur *equivocatio*, et fit quando dictator non poterit invenire dictionem consonantem sue dictioni; recipiat eandem sive equivocationem significationis vel declarationis. Exemplum de primo: si ad hanc dictionem "multa" velis habere consonantiam et non poteris alias, accipias eandem sive equivocationem, "multa" nempe in quantum est nomen adiectivum et collectivum plurale, et in quantum est nomen substantivum, et tunc idem est quam "pena" ut in hoc versu: *Nos patimur multas*, etc. Mari, *op. cit.*, 485.

A man that should of Truth tell,

With Great Lords he may not dwell!

In true story, as Clerks tell . . . Arber, *Dunbar Anthology*, 191.

<sup>14</sup> Mari, *op. cit.*, 393, 427.

This read backward produces

Dicit provida gens, presul, te dedecorem esse.

Smerte has also an example of this.

Restyng in him was honoure with sadnesse,  
Curtesy, kyndnesse, with great assuraunce,  
Dispysyng vice, loughng alway gladnesse,  
Knightly condicyons, feythful alegeaunce,  
Kyndely demenoure, gracyous utteraunce,  
Was none semelyer, feture ne face;  
Frendely him fostered quatriuial aliaunce;  
Alas, yet dede nowe arte thou, Jaspar, alas!

It would be robbing the reader to anticipate him in his pleasure in reading this backward! That such poetic curiosities as these that have just been cited were common either in the Latin or the English it is impossible to believe. Their employment would substitute intellectual ingenuity for poetic feeling. But the fact that they are found at all both in the Latin and in the English is significant, because they are so extreme that here there can be no question of vague borrowing, or an indefinable influence. There can be no question that certain peculiarities appear in English verse *because* they appear in Latin verse, and that to learn to write English the authors endeavored to adapt the principles taught for Latin composition. And the same reasoning holds true of other *colores*, the exclamation, the apostrophe, the rhetorical question, the antithesis, etc., etc., that were then, and are now, in ordinary use. The important fact is that for the English author of the fifteenth century the rhetorical value of each had already been definitely stated in the medieval Latin.

With relation so close between the two languages it is natural to expect that in English poems Latin would appear. In the latter, it was regarded as an elegance to work in quotations from classic authors. Thus in the *Laborinthus* the last nine verses of the stanzas of one section consist of lines from Juvenal, Theodulus, and Horace.<sup>15</sup> Normally, therefore, particularly in divine poems, Latin

<sup>15</sup> Mari, *op. cit.*, 460.



lines from the psalms and phrases from the Vulgate appear. Lydgate's *Te Deum* will serve as an example:<sup>16</sup>

*Te deum laudamus!* to the lord sovereyne  
 We creaturys knowleche the as creatoure;  
*Te eternum patrem*, the peple playne,  
 With hand and herte doth the honoure;  
 O ffemynyn fadir funte and foundoure,  
*Magnus et laudabilis dominus*,  
 In sonne and sterre thu sittyst splendoure,  
*Te laudat omnis spiritus*.

Or, there may be whole Latin lines completing the English rimescheme.<sup>17</sup>

*Salvator mundi, Domine*,  
 Fader of hevyn, blessyd thou be,  
 And thi son that commeth of the,  
*De Virgine Maria*.

Or, there may be worked in tag ends as in the dull *Lamentation of Mary Magdalen*, a dramatic monologue presumably written by a nun.<sup>18</sup>

I haue him called, *Sed non respondet mihi*,  
 Wherefore my mirth is tourned to mourning  
 O dere Lord *Quid mali feci tibi*,  
 That me to comfort I find no erthly thing,  
 Alas, haue compassion of my crying,  
 Yf fro me, *Faciem tuam abscondis*,  
 There is no more, but *Consumere me vis*.

Associated with religion are the noels at Christmas-tide; they are secular hymns. It is no matter for surprise to find the Latin carried over into them.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> MacCracken's Lydgate, *op. cit.*, 21.

<sup>17</sup> T. Wright, Percy Society, 23, xiii.

<sup>18</sup> The poem is in Anderson's *British Poets*, i, 536; the comment is by Bertha M. Skeat, Cambridge, 1897.

<sup>19</sup> T. Wright, Percy Society, *op. cit.*, xlv.



Make we jow in this fest, *in quo Christus natus est.*  
*A patre unigenitus*, to a maydyn is cum to us,  
 Syng we of hym and sey wolcum, *veni, redemptor gencium.*  
*Agnoscat omne seculum*, a byrth stare kyngges mad cum,  
 For to take with her presens *verbum superum prod-*  
*ens*, etc.

Or the well-known carol that was so popular that there are at least three versions of it.<sup>20</sup>

*Caput apri differo,*  
*Reddens laudes Domino,*  
 The bores heed in hande bring I,  
 With garlands gay and rosemary;  
 I praye you all synge merely,  
*qui estis in convivio*, etc.

But with the Latin mingling in the songs of the Church and the Church festivals, the new step would be to find it in poems where the connection with the Church has been completely lost. So Smerte in bewailing the death of his lord normally drops into the phrasing

As a pryngye penytente and ful of contricion,  
 So dyed he, we his seruantes can recorde:  
 And that he may haue euerlastynge fruicyon,  
 We the beseche, glorious kynge and lorde!  
 For the last lesoun that he dyd recorde,  
 To thy power he it aplyed, saynge *tibi omnes*,  
 As a hye knyghte in fidelyte fermely moryd,  
*Angeli celi et potestates*;  
 Wherwith payne to the hert him boryd,  
 And lyfe him lefte, gyuynge deth entres.

The next step is to have it used convivially in a drinking song.<sup>21</sup>

The best tre, if we tak entent,  
*Inter ligna fructifera*,  
 Is the vyne tre, by good argument,  
*Dulcia ferens pondera.*

<sup>20</sup> T. Wright, Percy Society, Christmas Carols, xviii.

<sup>21</sup> T. Wright, Christmas Carols, L.

Sent Luke seyth in hys gossell,  
*Arbor fructu noscitur.*  
 The vyne beryth wyne, as I yow tell,  
*Hinc aliis preponitur.*  
 The first that plantyd the vynnayard,  
*Manet in celi gaudio; . . .*

This continues for ninety lines, the alternate riming lines being English and Latin. One more example must suffice. This is apparently a three part song, at least it is headed by the phrase *triplex pars*, by Raff Drake. As the commonplace book, Appendix 58 of the Royal Ms., has a number of the songs of the court musician Cornish, Drake probably had some connection with the royal chapel and the date of the poem is probably in the last ten years of the reign of Henry VII.<sup>22</sup>

ffrere gastkyn wo ye be  
 qui manes hic in pat'a  
 for all yt here supportyth ye  
 ye makyst ye way ad tartara  
 tartara ys a place trewly  
 pro te et consimilibus  
 ffor hym yt lyuyth in Apostasy  
 absentyd a claustralibus, etc.

And this resembles the macaronic verses of the present day. It must be remembered that all these, and the countless others like them, appeared before the conventional date for the beginning of humanism in England, that therefore they show the close relationship between English and medieval Latin, and that among all authors and for all purposes Latin was used almost interchangeably with the native tongue.

In any case, such a condition would have affected the vocabulary of the English tongue to a very large extent. In addition, this influence came at a period when English word formations were shifting and new words were being created. And still more, it was endorsed by the precepts of the medieval Latin. Since the effect of such precepts was so great upon the English language, and since

<sup>22</sup> Printed by Flügel, *Anglia*, 12, 268.

also the documents are scarcely accessible to the general reader, an English translation, the first one to my knowledge, may be offered.<sup>23</sup>

It now remains to speak of the third section, namely the way to find rimes. Since doubtless the toilsome continuation of this work demands laborious exertion, it is fitting that in some way means should be given by which the ponderosity of this weight may be relieved. In the present chapter I shall declare ways by which rimes and the harmony of phrase may be found more easily.

1. The first method then of finding rimes is called *dictionum debita derivatio*, because, if the author in a time of necessity cannot find the necessary rime to a given phrase, let him see whether from another expression a derivative riming to his own expression whose rime he seeks, can be formed whether or not such expression be known; for example, suppose the author wishes to have a rime for this word "formula"; nor can he find another except this word "norma"; but that does not make a sufficient rime; and therefore let him make from this word "norm" a diminutive "normula" that now rimes to his own expression. But *debita derivatio* must be used in that way whereby one does not sin against the foundation of rhetoric, which is grammar.

2. The second way of finding rimes is called *compositio*, and that happens when the writer cannot find the necessary rime to any word; let him form it then by any compound word; for example, any one wishing to find the rime for this word "ficio," not being able otherwise, let him take the compound of this word "facio," as "perfacio," etc.

3. The third way is called *equivocatio*; it happens when the writer cannot find the rime to his word; let him take the same word under an equivocation of significance or meaning. Example of the first: if to his word "multa" you wish to have the rime and cannot do otherwise, take the same "multa" in equivocation, for truly sometimes it is an adjective and a collective plural, and sometimes it is a substantive, and then it is the same as "pena" as in that verse: *Nos patimur multas*, etc. And of the second: anyone wishing to have a rime of this word "flores," if he cannot do otherwise, let him take the same word verbally, and this is used so according to the evidence from various places.

4. The fourth way is called *aliene dictionis introductio*, and is when a rime cannot be found in the ordinary way. Then in the proper case either let the word of another speech, or one formed from it, just as many are accustomed sometimes to introduce Greek words, or words formed from the Greek, or from some other

<sup>23</sup> Mari, op. cit., 484. Trattato di Meolò Tibino.

language; but nevertheless the formation from the Greek pleases me more, because all Latin is founded on Greek and agrees better with Greek than with the other languages.

5. The fifth way is *nove dictionis fictio*: this way is when the riming word cannot be found by the writer; in which case then let a new word be formed from the sound or the nature of the subject and that word introduced. But the writer should see to it that in some way such a word be comprehensible and intelligible; otherwise little praise follows, since his word or song cannot be understood.

6. The sixth way is called *transumptio*, and is when the word necessary for making the rime takes a new significance and in such transumption there is inherent or is given sufficient similarity; for example: if someone wishes to have a rime for this word "videt"; no other is possible except this word "videt," yet because it cannot in its own signification, let the same word assume a meaning in this extended signification.

7. The seventh way is called *dictioni similitudinis adjunctio*, and takes place when the author cannot find the rime; then he puts in some kind of fitting similitude, as is seen in the example:

Ut ex spinis crescit rosa,  
in mundi delictis,  
semper finis dolorosa  
miscetur cum viciis.

But this can be done by another *color*, that is called *similitudo*.

8. The eighth way is called *contrarii positio*, it is when the writer cannot find the riming word; let him use then the phrase of the contrary meaning with the negative sign; as, if from this speech: *munera tua sunt mala*, some one might wish to make a speech harmonizing in rime, let him in the prescribed mode say: *tua dona, non sunt bona*; so by this device let him make a phrase suitable in meaning, as, if one cannot rime a certain word, let him take its synonym, or its opposite with a negative, as has been shown.

9. The ninth way is called *unius partis orationis pro alia receptio*; this mode is when the writer cannot find in the paradigm the riming word, let him take another undeclinable part, such as adverb, or preposition, etc. Let him then take the synonym of that part, giving it the full meaning, and let him make that part declinable, just as *Laborinthus* teaches in his *de modis egregie loquendi*. This is also shown in the following examples:

Qui sunt absque nisi  
Non sunt homines minus visi;

where this idea "nisi" is placed advoidedly for its synonym.

10. The tenth method is called *casuum mutatio*, and this happens when the word does not rime in one case, let it then be varied into another riming case, and this is explained in the *Viatiko dictandi*, treatise *de commutatione dictionum*.

And I urge you to remember faithfully these said methods of finding rimes; for they are themselves not only valuable for finding rimes, but also to the ornamentation of writing and by them authors induce subtilty.

The effect upon any language of such precepts as these naturally would be a large increase of the vocabulary. Practically the author is told that, if he cannot find a riming word, he is at liberty to coin one; and the practice is advocated not only as a labor-saving device, but as producing that pearl of medieval literature *subtilitas*. It requires no great knowledge of human nature, as exhibited in the writing of the fifteenth century, to understand that such precepts would be read with avidity by English authors harassed by linguistic difficulties. That such was the fact is shown by the examples in the poem by Smerte, who not only followed the precepts but in addition noted the fact in the margin. Thus the stanza

Than, if it be ryghte, most of myghte, thy godhed  
 I acuse,  
 For thy myght contrary to right thou doste gretly  
 abuse;  
 Katyffes unkind thou leuest behind, paynis, Turkes,  
 and Iewis,  
 And our maister gret thou gaue wormes to etc;  
 whereon gretly I muse;  
 Is this wel done? answer me sone; make, Lorde,  
 - thyn excuse.

is marked *color Introductio*. This is the fourth *color* in the list cited previously, and advocates the introduction of a word of foreign origin. In this stanza the *b* rime is given by "accuse." Of the five necessary rimes, three, "accuse," "Jews," and "muse" were at hand. Therefore from the French, or possibly medieval Latin *abusare*, he introduces the word *abuse* in the sense of *to employ improperly*, the first use of which as applied to things, recorded by the New English Dictionary is a century later; and the first use of *excuse*, that which tends to extenuate a fault or offense, is dated as

1494. In another stanza, by the fifth *color, fictio*, he increases the significance of the word.

Bydyngre al alone, with sorowe sore encombred. .

*Encumber* in this figurative sense is new with *Smerte*. Still another illustrates the sixth, *transumptio*, in the line

Your plesures been past unto penalyte.

This is the first use of *penality* given in the New English Dictionary, with the meaning *suffering*. And from the fact that *Smerte* affixes the side-notes it is clear that not only is he conscious of his innovations but that he is proudly conscious of them.

Consequently the fifteenth century is marked by the great number of new verbal coinages, especially from the Latin, altho there are a number from the French. Thus was formed the "aureate" language. As an example of this, the stanza from the *Envoy of Alison* may be quoted, the one in which the first letters of the respective lines form an anagram of the name<sup>24</sup>

Aurore of gladnesse, and day of lustinesse,  
Lucerne a-night, with hevenly influence  
Illumined, rote of beautee and goodnesse,  
Suspiries which I effunde in silence,  
Of grace I beseche, alegee let your wrytinge,  
Now of al goode sith ye be best livinge.

This was written and was accepted as beautiful English. But in the *Remedy of Love* such words as allecive, concupiscence, scribable, aromatic redolence, jeoperdously, sembably, ortographie, ethimologie, ramagious, bataylous, and dissonant, (to choose only the more striking), are used in denunciation.<sup>25</sup> The author explains that he was one of three men flirting with the same woman that tricked them all. It is to this melancholy incident that the poem is due. The piece belongs clearly to the type of the medieval attack upon women, but its language shows the beginning of the Renaissance. It is interesting, therefore, as showing to what extent even in normal verse the English language was affected by foreign importations.

<sup>24</sup> Skeat's *Chaucer*, vii, 360.

<sup>25</sup> Anderson's *British Poets*, i, 540.

It is in Hawes, however, that we find both the fullest explanation of the theory and the most extreme examples of its practice. His master Lydgate had versified<sup>26</sup>

"The depured rethoryke in English language."

Consequently the selection of a vocabulary is a serious problem.<sup>27</sup>

"The dulcet speche from the langage rude,  
Tellynge the tale in termes eloquent,  
The barbary tongue it doth ferre exclude,  
Electyng wordes whiche are expedyent,  
In Latyn or in Englyshe, after the entent  
Encensing out the aromatyke fume,  
Our langage rude to exyle and consume."

If the author neglects this principle, trouble follows.<sup>28</sup>

"For though a matter be never so good,  
Yf it be tolde wyth tongue of barbary,  
In rude maner wythout the discrete mode,  
It is distourbance to a hole company."

This craving for the "aromatyke fume" in "fewe wordes, swete and sentencious," a sixteenth century expression of the theory of *le mot propre*, results in a vocabulary enriched by such coinages as *depured*, *puberitude*, *sugratif*, *perambulat*, *equipolent*, *brobate*, *solisgyse*, *habytaile*, *itarenge*, *teneorus*, *consuetude*, etc. To a student of Latin the meaning of most of these words, and of others like them, is clear. The concrete application of this theory is terrifying. In the following stanza<sup>29</sup> the knight has won his lady and the effect upon him is described.

Her redolente wordes of swete influence  
Degouted vapoure moost aromatyke,  
And made conversyon of complacence;  
Her depured and her lusty rethoryke  
My courage reformed, that was so lunatyke;  
My sorrow defeted, and my mynde dyde modefy,  
And my dolorous herte began to pacyfy.

<sup>26</sup> *Pastime of Pleasure*, Cap. xi.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Cap. xi.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Cap. xii.

<sup>29</sup> *Pastime of Pleasure*, Cap. xxxviii.



The excesses of such a style rendered it innocuous. A reaction against "ink-horn" terms set in and simplicity was sought. This reaction was either caused by, or at least concomitant with, that closer and more sympathetic study of the classical authors, that is called humanism. The movement was naturally slow, the nation tending to slough off some excrescences sooner than others. Thus Wilson in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) feels it necessary to include the "tropes" of a word. These are:<sup>30</sup>

A Metaphore or translation of wordes.  
A word making.  
Intellection.  
Abusion.  
Transmutation of a word.  
Transumption.  
Change of name.  
Circumlocution.

And the tropes of a long continued speech or sentences, are these :

An Allegorie, or inuersion of wordes.  
Mounting.  
Resembling of things.  
Similitude.  
Example.

Such a catalogue as this suggests *Ad Herennium* as seen thru mediæval spectacles much more than the reasoning of Aristotle. This is the mediæval side of his work. But it is preceded by an elaborate warning. This is the Renaissance:<sup>31</sup>

Among all other lessons this should first be learned, that wee neuer affect any straunge ynkehorne termes, but to speake as is commonly receiued: neither seeking to be ouer fine, nor yet liuing ouer-carelesse using our speeche as most men doe, and ordering our wittes as the fewest haue done. Some seeke so far for outlandish English, that they forget altogether their mothers language. And I dare sweare this, if some of their mothers were aliue, thei were not able to tell what they say; and yet these fine English clerkes will say, they speake in their mother tongue, if a man should charge them for

<sup>30</sup> I am quoting from the reprint of the 150 edition, edited by G. H. Mair for the Clarendon Press, 1909, 172.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

counterfeiting the Kings English. Some farre journeyed gentleman at their returne home, like as they loue to goe in forraine apparell, so thei wil powder their talke with oersea language. He that commeth lately out of Fraunce, will talke French English and neuer blush at the matter. Another hoops in with English Italienated, and applieth the Italian phrase to our English speaking, the which is, as if an Oratour that profeseth to utter his mind in plaine Latine, would needes speake Poetrie, and farre fetched colours of straunge antiquitie. The Lawyer will store his stomacke with the prating of Pedlers. The Auditor in making his accompt and reckening, cometh in with *sise sould*, and *cater denere*, for vi.s.iiii.d. The fine courtier will talke nothing but *Chaucer*. The misticall wiseman and Poeticall Clerkes, will speake nothing but quaint Prouerbes, and blind Allegories, delighting much in their owne darkeness, especially, when none can tell what they doe say. The unlearned or foolish phantastical, that smelles but of learning (such fellowes as haue seen learned men in their daies) wil so Latin their tongues, that the simple can not but wonder at their talke, and thinke surely they speake by some reuelation. I know them that thinke *Rhetorique* to stande wholie upon darke wordes, and hee that can catche an ynke borne terme by the taile, him they compt to be a fine Englishman, and a good *Rhetorician*.

This extract deserves careful consideration since Wilson has here correctly diagnosed the disease. He shows the presence of the "ink-horn" terms; he has explained their formation; he points out the tendency toward their abuse; and, finally, by study of the classics, he deduces the correct solution. In the same way the humanist Ascham, in his celebrated passage from the *Toxophilus* (1545) protests against excesses of this style. Yet in general the result of the movement was happy. Many of the words thus hauled into English, lost their foreign air and, sometimes with a changed significance, took their places in the vocabulary. The English language was sturdy enough to take care of itself; it both threw off the unnecessary and useless additions, and it assimilated the rest.

In the dealing with the question of *colores*, especially how the practice of them affected the English language, we are standing on fairly firm foundation. At least beneath us is the massive bulk of the New English Dictionary! The moment, however, we come to the question of pronunciation, the proper scansion of the line, to the question of prosody, it is quite a different matter. As the syllabic

value of the final *e* varies with the individual writer, each line is a problem to us. What is still more unfortunate is the fact that each line was equally a problem to the scribe of the sixteenth century, whose redaction in almost all cases is the only one that has come down to us. Because the possible existence of the final *e* as a metrical factor was a mystery to him and because in the sixteenth century the desire for the *ipsissima verba* was unknown, he conscientiously endeavored to improve the poems by making the lines more regular. The result is that we can never be sure that in any given case we have the words that the author wrote. Therefore we deduce principles from the text, and then correct the text in accordance with the principles. The result, however, is necessarily unsatisfactory. It is here, then, that we turn to the medieval Latin theorists to find what is the basis for the scansion.

In the medieval Latin, as all the theorists agree, there is one main definition of rithm. This, as stated in the simplest and most primitive of the treatises, is that rithm is the harmonious equality of syllables, held within a definite number.<sup>32</sup> Other writers, carefully following Cicero, explain that the word comes from the Greek *ριθμός*, equivalent to the Latin *numerus*. This is, then, the basic point. Lines are classified primarily by the number of syllables contained in each. The limitation of this definition is at once apparent because according to it all the syllables would be of equal value. Verse composed according to this scheme would have the unaccented characteristic of French poetry. Altho this is untrue either in Latin or English verse, in the early ecclesiastical chants, where the music consists in a succession of half notes terminated at the end of the line by a whole note, such a definition fairly covers the facts. Equally of course when quicker measures were introduced, to follow the musical analogy the conception had to be modified. This was done by prolonging some syllables and shortening others, thus recognizing accent.<sup>33</sup> In this way are feet formed the names of

<sup>32</sup> Mari, *op. cit.*, 383. *Rithmus est consonans paritas sillabarum sub certo numero comprehensarum*. The difficulty here is that *rithmus* in some treatises is doubtful in meaning. Cf. Mari's article *Ritmo Latino e Terminologia Ritmica Medievale*, *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, 21, 35-88. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor T. C. LeCompte.

<sup>33</sup> Mari, *op. cit.*, 470. *Propter quod nota quod per accentum non intelligo plus quam prolongationem et breviationem sillabarum, idest acutam et brevem*

which are taken from the quantitative system. Thus an iambus is formed by a word accented upon the ultimate, and a spondee by a word accented upon the penult. For example, *delight* forms an iambic foot, and *mother* a spondaic foot.<sup>34</sup> The line then takes its name from the last foot in it and the syllables are counted backward. An octosyllabic line with a feminine ending would then be termed a tetraspondaic line; with a masculine ending, a tetraiambic line. Aside from the nomenclature, this needs no comment in regard to English verse composition. It would produce lines as faultlessly regular as those of the eighteenth century. In actual practice, however, this theoretical regularity was modified by opposing tendencies. Of these, undoubtedly the most important was the old national system of versification, according to which poems were still composed in the fifteenth century. The numerous manuscripts of the *Vision of Piers Plowman* attest the popularity of the type. But there versification is based upon stress, and the exact number of syllables to a foot is unimportant. To the ear trained in such a system, therefore, an occasional extra syllable in the line was a matter of indifference.<sup>35</sup> There was thus a strong tendency to scan the line by the number of accents, rather than by the number of syllables. This native tendency received also subconscious strength from the nomenclature, borrowed from classical versification. Naturally in an accentual system of prosody spondees, dactyls, or anapests exist largely by courtesy. But as in the classical system a dactyl or an anapest is the metrical equivalent to a spondee, so in a five-accented ten-syllable line it was easy to explain the introduction of extra syllables on the ground of the substitution of a dactylic or anapestic foot for the regular spondaic. Still more, the medieval Latinists claimed the license of slurring syllables, at least for the sake of the rime, so *mommona* could be scanned as *montma*, *secula* as *secla*,<sup>36</sup> etc. And the result of these three factors was that

ipsarum prolationem, ita quod per prolongationem sillabe signatur acutas vel elevatus sonus, per breviationem gravis suspensio. Istud autem Laborintus exprimit per iambicum et spondaicum seu spondicum, volens per iambicum breviationem sillabe et per spondaicum prolongationem.

<sup>34</sup> In accentual Latin the trochee was considered a spondee.

<sup>35</sup> Mari, *op. cit.*, 472.

<sup>36</sup> For an elaborate discussion of this position, cf. *Essai comparatif sur l'origine et l'histoire des rythmes*, by Maximilien Kawczynski, Paris, 1889. My acquaintance with this is due to the kindness of Professor C. M. Lewis.

the author composed freely by ear, so that while theoretically a five-accented line had ten syllables, and only ten, actually provided that the accents were correct, the exact number of syllables was immaterial. In the following passage, for example, Barclay was writing the heroic couplet, altho few of the lines have only ten syllables.

Nay, there hath the sight no maner of pleasaunce,  
And that shall I prove long time or it be night.  
Some men deliteth beholding men to fight,  
Or goodly knightes in pleasaunt apparayle,  
Or sturdie souldiers in bright harnes and male,  
Or an army arayde ready to the warre,  
Or to see them fight, so that he stande afarre.<sup>37</sup>

It is this freedom in the number of syllables and the placing of the accents, as well as the enjambment that technically differentiates the couplet of the Elizabethans from that the Age of Anne. Marlowe's line,<sup>38</sup>

The barbarous Thracian soldier, mov'd with nought,

is consequently strictly consonant with English usage. On the other hand, the versification of Pope where

And ten low words oft creep in one dull line

shows the effect of the French, a really syllabic, prosody. And altho not with Pope, at least in the hands of his imitators, verse became mechanical, a mere matter of counting syllables. But as the medieval Latin, like the English, was accentual, such danger was not incurred by English imitators while at the same time the syllabic basis of prosody was insisted upon. And to this free interpretation of medieval Latin precepts are due the great lines of Elizabethan poetry.

In dealing with the question of the grouping of lines into stanza forms, we have definite data. For, not only is there the summary of John of Garlandia, written about the middle of the thirteenth century, but in addition we have the fourth book of the *Laborinthus*,

<sup>37</sup> Barclay, First Eclogue.

<sup>38</sup> *Hero and Leander*. First Sestiad, 81.

written probably a century later,<sup>30</sup> in which twenty-eight of the possible forty-four combinations are illustrated. An examination of these two documents shows that medieval Latin prosody is interesting not only for what it contains but also for what it omits. With the exception of the ten syllable iambic line, the longest line possible is octosyllabic. But even this Iambicus Decasillabus is qualified by the clause *qualis est ille rithmus*. The importance of this qualification is apparent when the verse form is studied.

Diri patris infausta pignora,  
ante ortus damnati tempora;  
quia vestra sic iacent corpora,  
mea dolent introrsus pectora.

If this were read

Dirí patrís infaústa pínorá

it would be a normal five accented line. Really, however, as John Garlandia confesses, it is iambic only by courtesy as the last foot is dactylic. This is shown by a quotation from the same poem, *Lamentatio Oedipi*, given in another tract (circa 1150) to illustrate a triple rime. But this reduces the verse to one of four accents only. If this be true, the iambic pentameter line, the line of blank verse, the sonnet, the heroic couplet, the rime-royal, and the Spenserian stanza does not appear. When one realizes the effect on English literature of the disappearance of all poems written in these and allied forms, the limitation of the medieval Latin is at once apparent. And the second striking omission is that there is no provision for an intricate rime scheme. You may have a couplet, triplet, quadruplet, in lines of two, three, or four accents closing in a *b* rime, you may have a quatrain with the second and fourth lines alone riming, the first and third and the second and fourth, or the first and fourth and the second and third, but there is no prototype of such a form as the ballade or the rondeau. These rime-schemes, aab and abab, with their variations, thus form the staple of medieval Latin poetry. In contrast with the wire-drawn verbal ingenuity, the effect upon the reader is one of simplicity. Compare with these

<sup>30</sup> Mari, *op. cit.*, Prefazione, Sec. 8.

perfectly obvious forms the rime-scheme of such a piece as the *Lycidas*, for example, where the ear is tantalized by the appearance or omission of the rime, each equally unexpected. Here the rimes appear with an obvious regularity; the accents fall with the tick of the clock.

Meum est propositum  
 In taberna mori;  
 Ubi vina proxima  
 Morientis ori:  
 Tunc cantabunt laetius  
 Angelorum chori  
 "Deus sit propitius  
 Isti potatori."<sup>40</sup>

This is really two mono-rime couplets of thirteen syllables. So far as the form is concerned, this celebrated old drinking song is typically obvious.

When the forms used by the English poets between Lydgate and Wyatt are examined, these same characteristics are to be found. Aside from the rime-royal, the "Monk's Tale" stanza and the heroic couplet, all belonging to the Chaucerian tradition, dignified by the use of Lydgate, and continued as the vehicle for formal literary effort, poetic forms are marked by short lines and simple rime-schemes. While these all are not necessarily borrowed from the medieval Latin, it is worthy of notice that the majority are to be found discussed in the medieval Latin treatises. Of these in the English the popular forms are aab-ccb, aab-cdd, aaab-cccb, and aaab-cccd, for lyrics and lines riming in couplets, tercets, or quadruplets for serious content, both naturally usually iambic. To illustrate the extent to which the English stanza-forms are taken from the medieval Latin, the simplest method will be to list several of the poems in accessible collections under the appropriate heading. Iambic dimeter, bimembris, with three iambic differentia.

I was not past  
 Not a stones cast  
 So nygh as I could deme,

<sup>40</sup> *Confessio Goliardi*, from *Carmina Clericorum*, Heilbronn, 1876.



But I dyd see  
A goodly tree  
Within an herbor grene.<sup>41</sup>

Iambic dimeter, trimembris, with two iambic differentia.

In an arbour  
Late as I were,  
The fowls to hear  
Was mine intent.  
Singing in fere,  
With nòtes clear,  
They made good cheer,  
On boughès bent.<sup>42</sup>

Iambic trimeter, trimembris, with three iambic differentia.

In this tyme òf Christmas  
Bytwýxte an oxe and an àsse  
A màiden delýuered wàs  
Of Christ her dère son dère.  
The hùsband òf Marý  
(Saint) Jòseph stòode her bì  
And sàide he wàs ready  
To sèrue her if nede wère.<sup>43</sup>

Iambric tetrameter, bimembris, with three iambic differentia. (This is the very common narrative stanza, used in *Sir Thopas*.)

Pope, king, and emperoure,  
Byschope, abbot, and prioure,  
Parson, preste, and knyght,  
Duke, erle, and ilk baron  
To serve syr Peny are they boune,  
Both be day and nyght.<sup>44</sup>

The spondaic forms are much rarer, but as an example of dispondeus

<sup>41</sup> Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, iii, 187, *Armonye of Byrdes*, third stanza.

<sup>42</sup> Arber, *Dunbar Anthology*, 193, Thomas Feilde's *Lover and a Jay*.

<sup>43</sup> *Anglia*, xii, 588. The accents are my own.

<sup>44</sup> Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, i, 161.

trimembris with iambic differentia, is that of Anthony Wydville, Lord Rivers.<sup>45</sup>

Somewhat musing,  
And more mourning,  
In remembering  
The unsteadfastness;  
This world being  
Of such wheeling,  
Me contrarying,  
What may I guess?

I fear, doubtless,  
Remediless,  
Is now to cease  
My woeful chance!  
For unkindness,  
Withouten less,  
And no redress,  
Me doth advance.

With displeasaunce, etc.

This last is interesting as not only being spondaic in movement but from the fact that the rime in the differentia becomes the *a* in the succeeding verse. This peculiarity is called *cum consonantia sequente immediate*,<sup>46</sup> or *caudati continentes*.<sup>47</sup> This same device is used in the *Iustes of the Moneths of May and June*.

The moneth of May with ameroous beloued  
Plasauntly past wherein there hath ben proued  
Feates of armes and no persones reproued  
That had courage

<sup>45</sup> Arber, *Dunbar Anthology*, 180. This identification is taken from Arber. The poem appears also in Add. Ms. 31922, published by Flügel (*Anglia*, 12, 234). A note of Flügel states that it also appears in the collection Add. Mss. 5465, fol. 33b ff, and there it is attributed to Robert ffayrfax.

<sup>46</sup> Mari, *op. cit.*, 460.

<sup>47</sup> Mari, *op. cit.*, 404. *Caudati autem continentes dicuntur cum cauda praece-dentis cum consonanciâ sequentis concordat per omnem rithmorum seriem.*

In armour bryght to shewe theyr personage  
 On stedes stronge sturdy and corsage  
 But rather praysed for theyr vassellage  
 As reason was

In whiche season thus fortunéd the cace  
 A lady fayre moost beutyuous of face  
 With seruantes foure brought was into a place  
 Staged about

Wheron stode lordes and ladyes a grete route . . etc.<sup>48</sup>

As this poem describes the jousts held by Charles Brandon, Giles Capell and William Hussey in May and June, 1507, according to the title, it shows that also in the sixteenth century the medieval Latin influence persisted. But the use of the pentameter indicates the anglicization of the measure. And the popularity of this general type may be indicated by the fact that the majority of the poems in the *Songs and Carols*, edited by Wright, belong in this category.

Two variants of the type may be worth the mentioning, altho both are obvious at a glance. The first is *rithmus cum duplici differentia*, where, instead of a single line cauda, the *differentia* is double.<sup>49</sup>

Vita iusti gloriosa,  
 mors ut esset preciosa,  
     apud Deum meruit;  
     et qui sibi viluit  
 a datore gratiarum  
 cum fine miseriarum  
     gratiam obtinuit,  
     et decorem induit.

And the second is where the *differentia*, either single or double, is repeated as a refrain. This is usual in carols and songs. In English examples of these are found as late as in the *Lusty Juventus* (circ. 150). *Juventus* makes his entrance singing<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, ii, 114.

<sup>49</sup> Mari, *op. cit.*, 426.

<sup>50</sup> The text of these two songs is taken from Mr. Wever's edition in the *Tudor Facsimile Texts* series.

In a herber grene, a sleepe where as I lay,  
 The byrdes sang sweete in the myddes of the day  
 I dreamed fast of myrth and play  
 In youth is pleasure, in youth is pleasure,  
 Me thought as I walked stil to and fro.  
 And from her company I could not go,  
 But when I waked it was not so,  
 In youth is pleasure, in youth is pleasure.  
 Therfore my hart is surely pyght,  
 Of her alone to haue a sight,  
 Which is my ioy and harten delygth,  
 In youth is pleasure, in youth is pleasure. Finis.

This is quite clearly the iambic tetrameter, trimembris, with *duplici differentia*, repeated. So true is this, that it enables us to reject the foot *a sleepe* in the first line, as an intrusion of the typesetter. The text of the second song in the play is, however, in a still worse condition, suggesting cynical deduction concerning the state of affairs in the printing establishment of John Awdely dwelling in litle Britayne strete without Aldersgate.

Why should not youth fulfyll his owne minde  
 Is the course of nature doth him binde,  
 Is not euery thing ordained to do his kinde.  
 Report me to you, report me to you.  
 Do not the floures spring fresh and gay,  
 Pleasant and swete in the month of May?  
 And when their time commeth they vade away,  
 Report me to you, reporte me to you.  
 Be not the trees in wynter bare?  
 Like unto their kind, such as they are,  
 And when they spring their fruites declare  
 Reporte me to you, report me to you.  
 What should youth do with the fruits of age,  
 But liue in pleasure in this passage,  
 For when age commeth in his lustes will swage  
 Reporte me to you, report me to you.

The first stanza, here, requires considerable adjustment before it returns to the original state. As blame for these errors should not lie with the author, but with the printer, they furnish interesting

examples of the charm and melody of the medieval form in a very late stage. And, as has been said before, both the content is simple and the medium is obvious. The medieval Latinist composed with major chords.

And the value of all this? The answer is easy. During the fifteenth century, when owing to the disintegration of the language the poetic models were lost, many writers deliberately adopted for English use the principles of the medieval Latin. As these writers in their turn were built into the great tradition, their innovations were naturalized, their vocabulary accepted, and their experiments approved. Then their indebtedness to the medieval Latin, together with the medieval Latin itself, was forgotten. A theory of spontaneous generation of verse forms was started, or the theory of modified types, or the explanation was sought in analogies in contemporary literatures, themselves affected by the same forces.<sup>51</sup> On the other side, as the principles that guided the writers were not understood, the poems were at the mercy of the typesetter. But if the reasoning in the previous pages be correct, if those writers did adapt the principles of medieval Latin to the use of English, order is brought out of chaos and we may criticise their work from the point of view of their own age.

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<sup>51</sup> The French rhetorical treatises have been published by E. Langlois, *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique*, Paris, 1902; Professor Langlois' thesis (Univ. of Paris, 1890) discusses them.

## NOTES ON THE POETRY OF HERNANDO DE ACUNA

It is a curious fact that the pleasure of seeing their works in print was denied to most of the Spanish lyric poets of the sixteenth century. The poetry of Boscán was published by his widow a year after his death, together with the works of his friend Garci Laso de la Vega, while from six to thirty-five years intervened between the death of Santa Teresa de Jesús, Gregorio Silvestre, Cristóbal de Castillejo, Francisco de Figueroa and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and the publication of their verses. Quevedo's interest in poetry of unusual excellence was responsible for the publication of the lyrics of Luis de León and Francisco de la Torre in 1631, while Gutierre de Cetina did not appear in print until 1895. The posthumous publication of poetical works in an age when verses circulated freely in manuscript form presents many problems of authorship. The ascription of verses to a poet in a single manuscript has too often lead to their inclusion without further examination in even recent editions.

The poetry of Hernando de Acuña first appeared at Madrid in 1591, eleven years after the author's death, if the date usually assigned, 1580, be correct. His widow, doña Juana de Zúñiga applied for permission to print the autograph manuscript of his verses in 1589 and the privilege for publication in Castile was granted on October 4 of that year. Apparently little care was taken by the publisher in preparing this volume for the press. No order was observed in the arrangement of the compositions and three sonnets appear twice. The second edition published at Madrid in 1804 is a reprint of the edition of 1591, with alterations of the original orthography made at random.

Four of the compositions which appear among Acuña's works have been attributed to other poets. The *Carta de Dido a Eneas* has been printed as the work of Cetina<sup>1</sup> and of Diego Hurtado de

<sup>1</sup> *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, ed. J. Hazañas y la Rúa, Sevilla, 1895, Vol. II, pp. 15-30.

Mendoza.<sup>2</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo<sup>3</sup> ascribed it to Acuña on the evidence of its having been included in the original edition of Acuña's poetry. The sonnet *Amor me dixo en la mi edad primera*,<sup>4</sup> has been attributed to Hurtado de Mendoza but Foulché-Delbosc<sup>5</sup> in his recent critical examination of the works ascribed to Mendoza is unable to decide between the claims of the two poets. It seems certain that the sonnet *En una selua al parecer del día* was composed by Acuña,<sup>6</sup> and the same is true of the sonnet of Silvano to his shepherdess Silvia, *Quando la alegre y dulce Primavera*,<sup>7</sup> which has been printed with a few variants as the work of Cetina. The names Silvano and Silvia, so often used by Acuña in his pastoral compositions, suffice to settle the question of authorship.<sup>8</sup>

It will be remembered that Hernando de Acuña was born of an illustrious family at Valladolid about the year 1520 and that in September, 1536, he joined the Spanish army in Piedmont under the command of the Marquis of Vasto, Governor of Milan. On the death of his eldest brother from wounds received at the battle of Moncalieri in April of the following year, the young Don Hernando was appointed to his command as Captain of Infantry and took part in the Piedmont campaign. He probably remained until 1544 either at Milan with the Marquis of Vasto or at some fortress in the vicinity.<sup>9</sup>

It is certain that the young soldier became interested in Italian

<sup>2</sup> *Obras poéticas*, ed. by W. I. Knapp, in the *Colección de libros raros o curiosos*, Vol. XI, Madrid, 1877.

<sup>3</sup> *Horacio en España*, Madrid, 1885, Vol. I, p. 12n.

<sup>4</sup> *Varias poesías compuestas por don Hernando de Acuña*, En Madrid, en casa de P. Madrigal, 1591, f. 113v. All references are to this edition.

<sup>5</sup> *Les œuvres attribuées à Mendoza*, *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXXII, 1914, pp. 25 and 28.

<sup>6</sup> Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXII, 1910, p. 525. It is published in the 1785 edition of the *Obras de Francisco de Figueroa*, but appeared in the edition of 1626 preceded by the word *agena*, and was not included in the first edition, 1625.

<sup>7</sup> *Varias poesías*, f. 120.

<sup>8</sup> Foulché-Delbosc has published four sonnets attributed to Acuña in the *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XVIII, 1908, pp. 560-61.

<sup>9</sup> In outlining the biography of Acuña I am entirely indebted to the monograph of Señor Narciso Alonso Cortés, *Don Hernando de Acuña, noticias biográficas*, Valladolid, 1913. His fortunate discovery of manuscript sources has enabled him to cast a great deal of new light upon the poet's life and activity.



poetry and that he eagerly read the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch and the verses of the Italian writers of his day. He knew Sannazaro's *Rime* which had appeared in 1530 and doubtless was acquainted with the lyrics of Bembo and his followers. The Marquis of Vasto himself was a poet of considerable ability and was fond of the companionship of poets. He must also have read in manuscript some of the compositions of Garci Laso de la Vega whom he probably met in Piedmont. It was natural that when his military duties allowed him leisure to write verse, he should have sought to express himself in the Petrarchistic forms of sonnet, *canción* and madrigal rather than in the traditional measures of Spanish poetry.

It is not possible to arrange all of Acuña's verses in chronological order, but it seems probable that his earliest compositions were addressed to a lady whom he calls Silvia. We learn in one of his eclogues that he had seen the shepherdess pass one day along the banks of the Ticino:

Esparcidos al ayre sus cabellos,  
Con cuyo resplandor el sol se dora.  
Y en verla se enlazo de suerte en ellos,  
De suerte se enlazo, que no apartaua  
La memoria jamas ni el canto dellos.  
Su Siluia, sin cessar, siempre cantaua,  
De Siluia eran sus tratos y porfias,  
Y Siluano por Siluia se llamaua.  
Durole esta passion no pocos dias,  
Hasta que el tiempo y otras ocasiones,  
La fueron deshaziendo por mil vias.<sup>10</sup>

His infatuation was ardent for a time and he declared that the rivers would mount lofty peaks, summer would be leafless and the sun would become dark before he would cease to adore her. The lady, however, failed to return his love and in sonnets and tercets, he chides her for her cruelty and fickleness which have brought him to the point of death.

In the eclogue mentioned above, the shepherd Tirsi gives an evasive answer when asked why Silvano had ceased to adore Silvia, but his statement

<sup>10</sup> *Varias poesias*, f. 19v.

Yo tengo para mi que fue figura  
 Aquel destotro mal o su apariencia,  
 O su demostracion o su pintura,

leads us to infer that Acuña had followed Ovid's advice to cure himself of the pains of Love by another *amour*.

Compared with his tender passion for Galatea, his attachment to Silvia was little more than a flirtation.<sup>11</sup> Adopting the Virgilian name of Damon, he sang the praises of Galatea, his new idol, but in respectful tones for she was evidently a lady of high degree whom other shepherds ventured not to celebrate and who made him happy merely by her presence. He realized that he had set his thoughts upon so exalted a lady that he can expect no other reward for his audacity than death.<sup>12</sup> In his *Egloga y contienda entre dos pastores*

<sup>12</sup> *Varias poesías*, f. 132, sonnet beginning *Viendo Tirsi a Damon por Galatea, enamorados, sobre qual dellos padece mas pena: Silvano, que auiedo dicho la suya es mal tratado, o Damon, que no la osa dezir*, he compares the grief which he has suffered, in the one case from the cruel reception accorded his protestations by Silvia and in the other, from the silent admiration bestowed upon Galatea.<sup>13</sup>

The alarms of war interrupted his courtship. The French were advancing upon Ceresola and the Marquis of Vasto accepted the challenge. Acuña took part in the ignominious defeat and rout of the Spanish army at Ceresola in 1544 and was captured by the French. From his prison he addressed two sonnets to a lady, probably Galatea herself, in which he laments his absence from her. When his release was effected, partially through the assistance of the Marquis of Vasto who contributed two hundred ducats toward his ransom, he returned to Lombardy and from the same friend received an appointment as Governor of Cherasco, which again

<sup>11</sup> In the eclogue mentioned above, Tirsi says in reference to this new love affair:

cierto no es menor la diferencia  
 De la passion que tuuo a la que tiene,  
 Que la de la pintura a biua essencia.

<sup>13</sup> Señor Rodríguez Marín, *Luis Barahona de Soto, estudio biográfico, bibliográfico y crítico*, Madrid, 1903, p. 95n, conjectures that Silvano in this eclogue is Pedro de Padilla who occasionally used that name in addressing a lady named Silvia. It seems certain that Acuña was merely comparing his own emotions in two love affairs.

brought him near his beloved Galatea. It is reasonable to suppose that while still at Cherasco he read Lodovico Domenichi's famous anthology containing the best poetry of the school of Bembo, which appeared at Venice in 1545 with the title *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori nuovamente raccolte* and dedicated to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. From this volume, which proved to be so great a favorite with the poets of the Pléiade, Acuña translated two compositions, Giovanni Muzzarelli's sonnet beginning *Mentre i superbi tetti a parte a parte* and Thomaso Castellani's octaves on Venus and the fugitive Cupid.

Giovanni Muzzarelli or Muzio Arelio was born about the year 1490 at Gazzuolo and as a young man entered the service of Bishop Lodovico Gonzaga. On the death of his patron in 1511, he went to Rome and in 1515 was appointed Governor at Mondaino in Romagna. Two months later his untimely murder cut short the career of the Mantuan youth of whom Bembo had spoken a few years before as *magnae spei adulescens*. He was evidently regarded with esteem by his contemporaries for Ariosto mentions him as the *culto Muzio Arelio* in Canto XLII, stanza 87 of the *Orlando Furioso* and his death was mourned by Bembo, Giraldi, Molza and other poets.<sup>14</sup> Fifteen of his sonnets and three *canzoni* were included in Domenichi's anthology. The following sonnet, which is by no means his best, compares Nero's joy at the burning of Rome with the indifference of a lady to her lover's suffering.

Mentre i superbi tetti a parte a parte  
 Ardean di Roma, et l'altre cose belle,  
 Mandaua il pianto infin soura le stelle  
 Il popol tutto del figliuol di Marte;  
 Sol cantaua Neron'asceto in parte,  
 Onde schernia le genti meschinelle,  
 Fra se lodando hor queste fiamme, hor quelle,  
 Per far scriuendo uergognar le carte.  
 Così di mezzo il cor, ch'ella gouerna  
 Mira lieta il mio incendio, e tutta in pianti  
 De miei tristi pensier la turba afflitta,

<sup>14</sup> On Muzzarelli, see two articles by Vittorio Cian, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, Vol. XXI, 1893, pp. 358-384, and Vol. XXXVIII, 1901, pp. 78-96.

Donna, che sol di cio par che si uanti,  
 Essendo in mille esempi gia descritta  
 Sua crudeltade, et la mia fiamma interna.<sup>15</sup>

Acuña's version follows closely the Italian original.

Mientra de parte en parte se abrasaua,  
 Y en biuas llamas la gran Roma ardia,  
 Al alto cielo el gran clamor subia  
 Del pueblo todo, que su mal lloraua:  
 Solo en parte Neron cantando estaua,  
 Do el clamor miserable escarnecia,  
 Y el incendio mayor, mas alegria;  
 Y el mayor llanto, mas plazer le daua:  
 Assi de en medio el alma donde estays,  
 Veys, señora, mi fuego y toda en llanto  
 La turba de mis tristes pensamientos:  
 Y tanto mas de verlo os alegrays,  
 Quanto mas ardo, y por vos lloro, y quanto  
 Me llegan mas al cabo mis tormentos.<sup>16</sup>

Thomaso Castellani's octaves on Venus and the fugitive Cupid, which also appear in Domenichi's anthology,<sup>17</sup> are based upon the first Idyl of Moschus, so frequently imitated by the Renaissance poets.<sup>18</sup> In his *Venus quaerens filium*, Acuña expanded into fifteen octaves the original seven of Castellani's composition. Certain stanzas, such as the first, third and fourth are translated literally.

<sup>15</sup> The text is taken from the second edition, p. 70, of Domenichi's collection which appeared at Venice in 1546. I have also found this sonnet in Lodovico Dolce's collection entitled *Rime di diversi, et eccellenti autori. Raccolte da i libri da noi altre volte impressi tra le quali se ne leggono molte non piu vedute*, in Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de'Ferrari et Fratelli, MDLVI, p. 265, and also in Ruscelli's *Fiori delle rime de'poeti illustri*, in Venetia per Giovanbattista et Melchior Sessa Fratelli, 1558, p. 357.

<sup>16</sup> *Varias poesias*, f. 112v. I mentioned the source of Acuña's sonnet in a note contributed to Modern Language Notes, Vol. XXXI, 1916, pp. 122-23. Muzzarelli's sonnet was also translated by Gutierre de Cetina, *Obras*, Vol. I, p. 120. It was imitated in French by Philippe Desportes, *Hippolyte*, XXVII. See Joseph Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Montpellier, 1909, p. 235.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. 1546, pp. 52-54.

<sup>18</sup> See the interesting article of Professor Wilfred P. Mustard, *Later Echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets*, American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXX, 1909, pp. 278-79.

No ponga a los mortales mi venida  
 Admiracion ninguna ni recelo,  
 La Diosa soy que fuy en la mar nacida,  
 Y que gouierno y mando el tercer cielo:  
 De puro maternal amor mouida,  
 Busco mi hijo con incierto buelo;  
 El que supiere del, luego lo diga,  
 Si amando quiere a Venus por amiga.

El que del me mostrare vna pisada,  
 O de su buelo la dudosa via,  
 Por ello me tendra tan obligada,  
 Que no le faltara la gracia mia:  
 Mas porque del es cosa acostumbrada  
 Para desconocerse cada vn dia,  
 Mudar de forma, de abito y razones,  
 Sus señas os dire y sus condiciones.  
 Niño hermoso, y el color de fuego  
 Tal que su rostro es vna llama ardiente,  
 Dulce en la habla y de muy gran sossiego,  
 Mas siempre variable y diferente:  
 Iuega bien como niño, mas el juego  
 Conuierte en dolor graue facilmente;  
 En fiestas le vereys, pero sus danças  
 Son siempre baxa y alta de esperanças.<sup>19</sup>

Compare with these the first three octaves of Castellani's poem.

Non tremi alcun mortal di marauiglia  
 Che qua giu mira il mio diuin aspetto:  
 Io son la Dea di Cipro, del mar figlia,  
 Donna e splendor del terzo alto ricetto.  
 Come materna cura mi consiglia,  
 Il fuggitiuo mio figliuol diletto  
 Cercando uo: chi l'ha ueduto il dica;  
 Se Vener cerca a suoi desiri amica.

Ch'inditio alcun di lui, o del suo piede  
 Mostra qualch'orma, o del suo uol la uia,  
 Vn bascio n'hauera per sua mercede

<sup>19</sup> *Varias poesias*, f. 156.

Quanto dolce puo dar la bocca mia:  
Ma chi'l rimena a la sua propria fede,  
Di maggior don uoglio che degno sia,  
Et perche in mille forme inganna altrui,  
I segni udite da conoscer lui.

Garzon è alato e di color di fuoco,  
Crespe e flaue ha le chiome e'l uiso ardente,  
Il parlar dolce in cui non troua luoco  
Il uero, anzi è contrario a la sua mente:  
Scherza come fanciul, ma'l scherzo e'l gioco  
Quando s'adira cangia in duol souente.  
Hor corre, hor uola, e non ha ferma stanza,  
Et sempre in giro mena la speranza.

In the spring of the year 1546 Acuña's friend and protector, the Marquis of Vasto, died at Vigevano and the poet, mindful of past favors, wrote five sonnets on his death, one directed to Vasto himself, one addressed to the Marchioness of Vasto, Donna Maria d'Aragona, one to the Marquis of Pescara and two epitaphs. A few months later, military service again called Acuña from the pursuit of letters and from his lady Galatea. The war of the German League had broken out and the Emperor mobilized all his armies. Acuña was summoned with his troops to Bavaria and took part in the battle of Ingolstadt where his bravery won for him public recognition from the Emperor. Yet in the midst of arms, his thoughts ever turned toward Galatea. In a pastoral eclogue written on the banks of the Danube (probably at Ingolstadt) he tells of his grief on parting from his lady who at that time was preparing to leave for Naples, and in *liras* he tenderly mourns the happy days, now past beyond recall, spent at her side:

Mudose en triste inuierno  
Aquella alegre y dulce primavera,  
Por donde al llanto eterno  
De mi boz lastimera  
Resono ya del Istro la ribera.  
Y Skelt mi canto oyendo,  
Oro en la Baxa parte de Alemaña,  
Con impetu corriendo

Por seluas y campaña  
Al mar lleua la boz triste y estraña.<sup>20</sup>

It would be interesting to discover the identity of this lady whose position was so exalted that the poet dared not hope that his love could be returned, awaiting only death as a reward for his devotion. There is no evidence at hand to settle the question but I offer the conjecture that Galatea was none other than Donna Maria d'Aragona, Marchioness of Vasto, the beautiful but haughty lady who inspired some of Tansillo's best verse.<sup>21</sup> The Marquis was exceedingly jealous and on one occasion did not hesitate to flash his dagger before the eyes of the Viceroy of Naples whom he suspected of acting in the Emperor's interests to win the love of Donna Maria. We know that Donna Giulia Gonzaga used to call the jealous Marquis by the name of Polyphemus, in which case Galatea was an appropriate name to be bestowed upon his wife. In the eclogue mentioned above, written on the Danube, Tirsi says that Damon had been summoned to the colors:

Pero su ausencia no podia escusarse,  
Que aunque aca no viniera, se apartaua  
De quien nunca jamas pudo apartarse:  
Que en aquel propio tiempo se quedaua  
La hermosa Galatea aparejando  
Para vn largo camino que esperaua.

The call to the army arrived in the spring of the year 1546 and on March 31 of the same year the Marquis of Vasto died at Vigevano (near the Ticino) and after some months Donna Maria returned to Naples, her old home. We learn in a *sestina lirica* of the same eclogue that Naples was also the destination of Galatea.

Do hizieron partiendo Galatea  
Las ninfas de Tesin extremo llanto,

<sup>20</sup> *Varias poesias*, f. 151v.

<sup>21</sup> Notably the sonnet *Amor m'impenna l'ale, e tanto in alto*, translated by Cetina, *Obras*, Vol. I, p. 17. For an account of Tansillo's love for Donna Maria d'Aragona, see *Poesie liriche edite ed inedite di Luigi Tansillo con prefazione e note di F. Fiorentino*, Napoli, 1882, xlii-lv, and an article by Fiorentino, *Donna Maria d'Aragona, Marchesa del Vasto*, Nuova Antologia, Vol. XLII, 1884, pp. 212-240.



Y alegrose Sebeto con sus campos:  
 Alli causa su vista alegre vida,  
 Alli se veen cantarse eternos versos,  
 Que el sol solas alumbra aquellas tierras.<sup>22</sup>

This conjecture as to the identity of Galatea may be purely fanciful but I have mentioned it in the hope that further evidence may be obtained to confirm it.

The following year, 1547, Acuña was appointed custodian of the Duke John Frederick, the deposed Elector of Saxony and by virtue of this office became a member of the Emperor's household for four years. It was at this time that he translated at the Emperor's request Olivier de la Marche's *Le Chevalier délibéré*,<sup>23</sup> a subject which his predilection for Italian Renaissance poetry would never have led him to choose. Furthermore, this translation, which appeared in 1553, was composed in double *quintillas* instead of octaves, the meter employed by Acuña in most of his longer poems. However, he had not lost interest in Italian poetry for to this period probably belongs his *Elegia a una partida* in tercets, a translation of Tansillo's well known poem beginning *Se quel dolor, che va innansi al morire*<sup>24</sup> which first appeared in 1552 in an anthology entitled *Rime di diversi Signori Napolitani ed altri nobilissimi ingegni, Libro V*.<sup>25</sup>

In 1555 Gerónimo de Urrea published another translation of *Le Chevalier délibéré* and Acuña ridiculed the work of his competitor in a poem imitating Garci Laso de la Vega's *lira*, addressed to "un buen poeta caballero y mal poeta." On the death of Charles V three years later, Acuña paid tribute to the Emperor's memory in a so-called epigram in *quintillas*, in which Fame sings his achievements.

<sup>22</sup> In the pastoral language employed by the Italian and Spanish poets of the sixteenth century, the *campos del Sebeto* were synonymous with Naples.

<sup>23</sup> According to the traditional account, Acuña versified the Emperor's prose translation. See James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1913, pp. 193-94.

<sup>24</sup> Mele, *Rev. crit. de la lit. esp., port., e hisp.-am.*, vol. I, 1896, p. 267.

<sup>25</sup> There is a copy of this very rare book in the library of the University of Pennsylvania. Tansillo's poem may be read in Fiorentino's edition, pp. 167-69. It was also translated by Gutierre de Cetina and by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. The three Spanish versions may be read in the *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. II, pp. 145-52.

Among the longer compositions to which no date can be assigned, the most important is a translation of the first three and part of the fourth Canto of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, in octaves, superior in style to Urrea's version of the *Orlando Furioso* but lacking in true poetic qualities. He gives proof of his admiration for Ovid in his graceful translation in tercets of *Heroides*, VII, entitled *Carta de Dido a Eneas* and also in *La contienda de Ajax Telamonio y de Ulisses sobre las armas de Achiles*, a close translation in *verso suelto* of *Metamorphoses*, XII, 612-28 and XIII, 1-394. The use of this metre was suggested to him by Boscán's *Historia de Leandro y Hero* or by the innovations of Trissino, Dolce and other Italian poets. His *Fabula de Narciso* in octaves is one of the first attempts in Spain to treat a detached story of Ovid in a separate poem and may have been suggested by Alamanni's *Favola di Narciso*, although the two compositions have nothing in common except the subject.<sup>26</sup>

Only a few of the shorter poems call for detailed comment. It is true that a few of the compositions included in the volume of *Varias poesias* are written in the form of *coplas*, *quintillas* and *décimas*, but as far as we are able to assign a date for them, they belong to the latter part of Acuña's life. The predominating influence upon his lyrics is found in Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and in the Italian poetry published between 1530 and 1550. His verse is free of the exaggerated mannerisms of Cariteo, Aquilano and Tebaldeo and rarely, if at all, do we find any trace of the preciousness of Tansillo, Costanzo and Rota. Acuña's inspiration rarely carried him to great heights, but his poetry is almost always characterized by a certain grave dignity and good taste.

Although the spirit of Petrarch may be recognized in many of his compositions, he made only one translation from the *Canzoniere*, the sonnet *Despues que a Cesar, el traidor de Egipto*, which closely follows Petrarch's *Cesare, poi ch'l traditor d'Egitto*. The following sonnet is a translation from Sannazaro's sonnet, *O gelosia d'amanti, horribil freno*.

O celos, mal de cien males lleno,  
Interior daño, poderoso y fuerte;

<sup>26</sup> The three sonnets on Icarus, Phaethon and the giants of Phlegra are also based upon episodes in the *Metamorphoses*.

Peor mil vezes que rabiosa muerte,  
 Pues basta a turbar lo mas sereno:  
 Ponçoñosa serpiente, que en el seno  
 Te crias, donde vienes a hazerte,  
 En prospero suceso, aduersa suerte,  
 Y en sabroso manjar, cruel veneno:  
 De qual valle infernal fuiste salido?  
 Qual furia te formo? por que natura  
 Nada formo que no siruiesse al hombre;  
 En que constelacion fuiste nacido?  
 Porque no solo mata tu figura,  
 Pero basta a mas mal solo tu nombre.<sup>27</sup>

Acuña's sonnet *sobre la red de amor*<sup>28</sup> is also a translation of an Italian sonnet of the sixteenth century, the authorship of which is unknown.<sup>29</sup>

Acuña also shared the admiration of Boscán, Garci Laso de la Vega, Hurtado de Mendoza, Cetina and other poets for the *Cants de Amor* of Ausias March. Amédée Pagès has noted that Acuña's sonnet *Como aquel que a la muerte esta presente*<sup>30</sup> simply develops the idea expressed by Ausias March in stanza 3 of Cant XXVII, beginning *Si com aquell qui es verí donant*.<sup>31</sup> The following sonnet of Acuña is also inspired by Ausias March.

<sup>27</sup> *Varias poesias*, f. 138. The same sonnet of Sannazaro was translated by Gerónimo de Mora and by Andrés Rey de Artieda and was paraphrased by Góngora. See F. Rodríguez Marín, *Primera Parte de las flores de poetas ilustres de España*, Sevilla, 1896, Vol. I, p. 401. I have noted still another translation in the *Cancionero General de 1554*, reprinted by Morel-Fatio in the volume entitled *L'Espagne au XVI<sup>e</sup> et au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Heilbronn, 1878, p. 584, and a paraphrase in octaves in Bernardo de Balbuena's *Siglo de Oro en las selvas de Erifile*, Madrid, 1821, pp. 178-179.

<sup>28</sup> *Varias poesias*, f. 97.

<sup>29</sup> See E. Mele, *Sonetti Spagnuoli tradotti in italiano*, Bulletin Hispanique, Vol. XVI, 1914, pp. 448-457. The same sonnet was also translated by Cetina, *Obras*, Vol. I, p. 160. Signor Mele has noted that Acuña's version as well as his three *respuestas* to the same, were translated into Italian by Paolo Filippi dalla Briga, a poet of the end of the sixteenth century.

<sup>30</sup> *Varias poesias*, f. 102v.

<sup>31</sup> *Ausias March et ses prédécesseurs. Essai sur la poésie amoureuse et philosophique en Catalogne au XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles par Amédée Pagès*, Paris, 1912, p. 417. I have used the Pagès edition of *Les Obres d'Ausias March*, Barcelona, 1912-14.

Como al tiempo al llouer aparejado,  
 Se conforman con el, la tierra y viento,  
 Assi todo dolor, todo tormento,  
 Halla conformidad en mi cuydado:  
 Que en tanto el mal de amor es estremado,  
 En quanto se parece al que yo siento,  
 Y en tanto es congoxoso el pensamiento  
 En quanto con el mio es comparado:  
 Por do viendo en qualquiera, que padece  
 Dolor conforme por alguna via,  
 Es fuerça que de entrambos sienta pena:  
 Assi descansar nunca se me ofrece,  
 Que si acaso se aliuia el ansia mia,  
 Amor me la renueua con la aena.<sup>32</sup>

Compare with this the second stanza of *Cant de Amor*, XC.

Si com lo temps a plour' aparellat,  
 la terra ·l vent l'es a plour' avinent,  
 tota dolor d'altre m'es conivent  
 qu'en ma dolor sia passionat.  
 Tot cas estrem me port' a recordar  
 lo propri dan y el lunyament de be;  
 mas yo ·m dolch mes s'algú mal d'amor té,  
 car en l'affany es companyó e par.

It is as a poet that Acuña is accorded a place in the history of Spanish literature but we should not forget that his verse was the product of leisure moments and that soldiering was his profession. His biography by Señor Cortés shows that he spent twenty-six years of his life in the army and engaged upon missions for the Emperor and Philip II. On his record in public service he was well qualified to express, as he does in the following sonnet, the aspiration of Spain for world dominion.

Ya se acerca, señor, o es ya llegada  
 La edad gloriosa, en que promete el Cielo  
 Vna grey y vn pastor solo en el suelo,  
 Por suerte a vuestros tiempos reservada:

<sup>32</sup> *Varias poesias*, f. 103.

Ya tan alto principio en tal jornada  
 Os muestra el fin de vuestro santo zelo,  
 Y anuncia al mundo para mas consuelo  
 Vn Monarca, vn Imperio y vna Espada:  
 Ya el orbe de la tierra siente en parte,  
 Y espera en todo vuestra monarquia,  
 Conquistada por vos en justa guerra:  
 Que a quien ha dado Christo su estandarte,  
 Dara el segundo mas dichoso dia  
 En que vencido el mar, vença la tierra.<sup>22</sup>

What we know of Acuña's career makes of him an interesting personality and while his verse is surpassed by that of Garci Laso de la Vega, Luis de León, Herrera, Francisco de la Torre, Cetina and Hurtado de Mendoza among the Italianate poets of his time, the volume piously published by his widow serves as an index to the literary tastes of a well-born soldier, courtier and poet of the middle of the sixteenth century in Spain.

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<sup>22</sup> *Varias poesias*, f. 145. Antonio Minturno made use of the same figure in expressing the aspiration for world domination under Charles.

Si lieti uedrem poi l'antico onore,  
 Vn Cesare nel mondo ed un'impero,  
 E uedremo un Ouile ed un Pastore.

*Rime et Prose*, Venetia, MDLIX, p. 100.

# NOTES ON THE SONNETS IN THE SPANISH CAN- CIONERO GENERAL DE 1554

THE *Cancionero General de 1554*<sup>1</sup> has a certain claim to interest in being the earliest anthology published in Spain containing verses composed in both the traditional and Italian measures. The book was printed at Saragossa in 1554 by Estéban G. de Nágera, who two years before had published the *Segunda Parte del Cancionero General*. We know nothing of the identity of the editor nor the basis for choosing the verses included in the volume, except that he proposed to limit himself to inedited compositions.<sup>2</sup>

The place of honor in both parts is accorded to Don Juan de Coloma, Count of Elda, who is represented in the second part, devoted to compositions in the Italian manner, by three *canciones*, *La Historia de Orfeo* in octaves, a pastoral *egloga de tres pastores*, a *capítulo* in tercets and twenty-two sonnets. These are followed by nine compositions by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and forty-six sonnets classed indiscriminately as *sonetos de diversos autores*. An anonymous *romance* closes the volume. It appears that having given due credit to a nobleman and to a famous statesman, the collector did not trouble himself to mention the names of the other poets whose compositions were included in the second part. If we knew the authors of these forty-six anonymous sonnets, it is almost certain that new names would be added to the list of poets who in the period of transition, preferred the Italian measures to the traditional forms of Spanish verse.

<sup>1</sup> The full title is *Cancionero general de obras nuevas nunca hasta aora impressas, assi por ell arte española como por la toscana*. The unique copy preserved at the Library of Wolfenbüttel was first described by Ferdinand Wolf in the *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Band X, Wien, 1853, pp. 153-204, and was reprinted with additional notes by Alfred Morel-Fatio in a volume entitled *L'Espagne au XVI<sup>e</sup> et au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Heilbronn, 1878, pp. 500-602.

<sup>2</sup> This restriction, however, was not fully observed. Fourteen of Boscán's compositions included in the volume had already appeared in print. See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Vol. XIII, Madrid, 1908, p. 264.

The *Canzoniere* of Petrarch was the predominating influence upon the poets whose verses were included in the second part of the *Cancionero*. In addition to the ten sonnets which may be classed as translations or imitations of Petrarch, there is scarcely a sonnet which does not betray acquaintanceship with the works of the great Italian poet. Overwrought figures in a few sonnets recall the exaggerations of Tebaldeo and other poets of the end of the Quattrocento, but the prevailing tone is elevated and far removed from the sensuality of Serafino Aquilano and the wanton license of Olympo da Sassoferrato. Three translations from Sannazaro appear in the volume, but the influence of Bembo and his followers whose verses had so great vogue in Italy between 1530 and 1550, is noticeably absent. Seven of the sonnets are translations or paraphrases of the *Cants de Amor* of Ausias March.

Although many of the compositions included in the second part of this *Cancionero* are creditable productions, no one would venture to claim for them the title of great poetry. We must remember that the Italian measures were not fully acclimated in Spain in 1554 and that these verses must be regarded as experiments with a comparatively new instrument. The notes which follow on some of the sonnets contained in the volume may serve to show at least a few of the sources of inspiration for the Spanish poets of the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

## OBRAS DE DON JUAN DE COLOMA

## CIII

*En el sobervio mar se via metido.*

This sonnet, which follows quite closely Martial's well known epigram, is one of the many compositions dealing with the story of Hero and Leander which appeared in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Menéndez y Pelayo has treated of them at length in his *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Vol. XIII, Madrid, 1908, pp. 359-78.

## CV

Todos los que de amores an hablado  
Callen con lo que yo triste he sentido,

<sup>3</sup> I have followed Morel-Fatio's edition in the numbering of the sonnets.



Borrese quanto escripto se a leydo  
 Con sola la miseria de mi estado.  
 Quen mi comparacion ninguno a amado  
 De quantos por amor han padescido,  
 Pues que me siento dél mas encendido  
 Quanto mas de remedio estó apartado.  
 Ningun remedio espera el mal que siento.  
 ¿Quien nunca se sostuvo con tal pena?  
 ¿Quien desseó jamas sin[e]sperança?  
 Sino los condenados al tormento,  
 Adonde eternamente Dios condena,  
 Por no tener en él su confiança.

This is a paraphrase of Auzias March, *Cant de Amor*, XXII.<sup>4</sup>

Callen aquells que d'amor han parlat,  
 e dels passats deliu tots lurs escrits;  
 en mi pensant, meteu-los en oblits.  
 En mon esguart degú's enamorat,  
 car pas desig sens esperanç' aver.  
 Tal passió jamés home sostench;  
 per als dampnats nostre Deu la retench,  
 sols per aquells qui moren sens esper.

#### CVII

*No desseó jamas la clara fuente  
 El ciervo con la flecha atravesado.*

The first quatrain may have been suggested by the opening lines of *Cant de Amor*, LXXXIX, of Auzias March.<sup>5</sup>

Cervo ferit no desija la font  
 aytant com yo esser a vos pressent.

#### CXIII

*Como el questá a muerte sentenciado.*

The quatrains are a paraphrase of the second stanza of the first *Cant de Amor* of Auzias March.<sup>6</sup> See also CXXIV and CLXXI.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Obres d'Auzias March, edició crítica per Amadeu Pagès*, Vol. I, Barcelona, 1912, p. 255.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Pagès, Vol. II, p. 54.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Pagès, Vol. I, p. 186.

si com aquell qui es jutgat a mort  
he de lonch temps la sab e s'aconorta,  
e creure ·l fan que li serà estorta  
e ·l fan morir sens un punt de recort.

OBRAS DE DON DIEGO DE MENDOÇA

CXXIV

*Como el triste que a muerte es condenado.*

Suggested by the same stanza of Auzias March as CXIII. The source of the sonnet was noted by Amédée Pagès, *Auzias March et ses prédécesseurs. Essai sur la poésie amoureuse et philosophique en Catalogne au XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1912, p. 415.

CXXVI

*Amor, amor, un abito he vestido.*

The first quatrain is a paraphrase of Auzias March, *Cant de Amor*, LXXVII.<sup>7</sup>

Amor, Amor, un abit m'e tallat  
de vostre drap, vestint-me l'esperit:  
en lo vestir, ample molt l'e sentit,  
e fort estret, quant sobre mi 's posat.

The Catalan source of this sonnet was noted by Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas in his edition of the works of Garci Laso de la Vega, 1574. For a discussion of the relationship between the sonnets *Amor, amor, un habito vesti* and *Amor, amor, un habito he vestido*, and the authorship of the same, see R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Les œuvres attribuées à Mendoza*, *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXXII, 1914, pp. 26-28.

SONETOS DE DIVERSOS AUTORES

CXXIX

Celos de amor terrible y duro freno  
Que me bolveys, parays y teneys fuerte,

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Pagès, Vol. II, p. 10.

Parientes muy cercanos de la muerte  
 Quel cielo escureceys claro y sereno.  
 ¡O serpiente escondida en dulce seno  
 De flores, queres causa se convierte  
 El prospero sucesso en dura suerte  
 Y el suave manjar hazes veneno!  
 ¿De qual furia infernal aca as salido,  
 Monstruo cruel que a todos as lisiado  
 Y a mi en tan grande angustia me has metido?  
 Buelve, no sigas mas lo començado,  
 Desdichado temor, ¿á que has venido  
 Do me bastava amor con su cuydado?

This is a translation of the following sonnet of Sannazaro.<sup>8</sup>

O Gelosia d'amanti, horribil freno,  
 Ch'in vn punto mi volgi e tien si forte;  
 O sorella de l'empia amara morte,  
 Che con tua vista turbi il ciel sereno.  
 O serpente nascosto in dolce seno  
 Di lieti fior, che mie speranze hai morte,  
 Tra' prosperi successi aduersa sorte,  
 Tra' soauì viuande aspro veneno;  
 Da qual ualle infernal nel mondo vscisti,  
 O crudel mostro, o peste de' mortali,  
 Che sai li giorni miei si oscuri e tristi?  
 Tornati giu, non raddoppiar miei mali,  
 Infelice paura, a che venisti?  
 Hor non bastaua Amor con li suoi strali?

This sonnet was also translated by Gerónimo de Mora and by Andrés Rey de Artieda and was paraphrased by Góngora. See F. Rodríguez Marín, *Primera parte de las flores de poetas ilustres de España*, Sevilla, 1896, Vol. I, p. 401. I have noted still another translation by Hernando de Acuña beginning *O celos, mal de cien males lleno*, in his *Varias poesías*, Madrid, 1591, f. 138 and a paraphrase in octaves in Bernardo de Balbuena's *Siglo de Oro en las selvas de Erifile*, Madrid, 1821, pp. 178-79.

<sup>8</sup> *Rime di M. Giacompo Sannazaro*, in Venetia, appresso Oratio de'Gobbi, MDLXXXI, p. 24.

## CXXXI

Valles floridas, frescas y sombrosas,  
 Selves desiertas de nadie abitadas,  
 Aves que con cantar mis desdichadas  
 Lagrimas amansays tan congoxosas,  
 Aguas de rios claras y hermosas  
 Que de hermosas ninfas soys pobladas,  
 Oyd mis quexas, que nunca contadas  
 Fueron ni seran tan dolorosas.  
 Que si el gritar el amor me ha quitado  
 No quitara un hablar con sospiros,  
 Y vos<sup>9</sup> muy triste y baxa lamentando;  
 Y quando me aya tambien esto vedado  
 Y mis males no pueda aqui deziros,  
 Presentes los vereys a mi mirando.

This is a translation of the following sonnet of Sannazaro.<sup>10</sup>

Liete, uerdi, fiorite e fresche ualli,  
 Ombrose selue, solitari monti,  
 Vaghi augelletti a le mie notti pronti,  
 Di color persi, uariati e gialli,  
 Voi, susurranti e liquidi cristalli,  
 Voi, animali innamorati insonti,  
 Voi, sacre ninfe ch'abitate in fonti,  
 Deh, state a udir da' piu secreti calli.  
 Che se'l gridar questo Signor m'ha tolto;  
 Tor non potrammi vn romper di sospiri:  
 Vn iunger lasso, vn mormorar occolto:  
 O se pur non consente ch'io respiri;  
 Almen non fia che sol mirando'l volto  
 Non ui sian noti tutti miei martiri.

## CXXXIII

*Todo el dia lloro, y la noche, quando.*

The quatrains are translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Tutto 'l dì piango; e poi la notte quando.*

<sup>9</sup> Evidently intended for *vos*.

<sup>10</sup> *Rime*, MDLXXXI, p. 73.

## CXXXIV

¡O como e estado desaparecido  
 Contra las crudas fuerças del amor!

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Lasso, che mal accorto fui da prima*.

## CXXXVIII

*Quando vi aquel cabelo desparzido.*

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Erano i capei d'oro a l'aura sparsi*.

## CXL

Vencido del trabajo el pensamiento,  
 Quel mismo havia causado, yo dormia,  
 Quando en el sueño vi que a mi venia  
 La que me causa el grave mal que siento.  
 Diome vella muy gran contentamiento,  
 Que señalar piedad me parescia,  
 Y en esta novedad hallé osadia  
 De procurar remedio a mi tormento.  
 Su dulce voz oy me consolava,  
 Diciendo que esperasse verme sano  
 Por quien el accidente me causava.  
 En esto recorde y hallélo vano,  
 Y como dengañarme procurava,  
 Desamparóme aquella blanca mano.

This is a translation of the following *canzone* of Sannazaro.<sup>11</sup>

Venuta era Madonna al mio languire,  
 Con dolce aspetto humano,  
 Allegra e bella in sonno a consolarme:  
 Et io, prendendo ardire  
 Di dirle, quanti affanni ho spesi in uano;  
 Vidila con pietate a se chiamarme,  
 Dicendo, a che sospire?  
 A che ti struggi et ardi di lontano?

<sup>11</sup> *Rime*, MDLXXXI, p. 52.

Non sai tu che quell'arme,  
 Che fer la piaga, ponno il duol finire?  
 In tanto il sonno si partia pian piano,  
 Ond'io per ingannarme,  
 Lungo spatio non volsi gli occhi aprire:  
 Ma da la bianca mano  
 Che si stretta tenea, senti lasciarme,

CXLVI

*Si una fe amorosa y no fingida.*

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *S'una fede amorosa, un cor non finto.*

CXLVIII

*En duda de mi estado lloro y canto.*

The quatrains are translated from Petrarch's sonnet *In dubbio di mio stato, or piango, or canto.*

CXLIX

*Felice alma, que tan dulcemento.*

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Spirto felice, che sì dolcemente.*

CLIII

*Si amor no es, ¿que mal es el que siento?*

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *S'Amor non è, che dunque è quel ch'io sento?* The source of the Spanish sonnet was noted by Ferdinand Wolf in his description of the *Cancionero General de 1554, Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Hist. Klasse, Band X, Wien, 1853, p. 189. In 1520 Hernando Díaz translated this sonnet of Petrarch in *coplas de arte mayor*. See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Vol. XIII, p. 232.

## CLV

*Gracia que a pocos el cielo encamina.*

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Grazie ch'a pochi 'l Ciel largo destina.*

## CLVI

*Vivas centellas de aquellos divinos.*

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Vive faville uscian de' duo bei lumi.*

## CLX

*Quando las gentes van todas buscando.*

Translated from Auzias March, *Colguen les gents ab alegria festes, Cant de Amor, XIII.* The source was indicated by Pagès, *Auzias March et ses prédécesseurs*, p. 416. The Spanish sonnet was included by Dr. Knapp in his edition of the *Obras poéticas de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, Madrid, 1877. See also R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Les œuvres attribuées à Mendoza*, *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXXII, 1914, p. 41.

## CLXIII

¡O si acabasses ya mi pensamiento  
Muriendo, que con vida no querria,  
Que ciertamente sé que no podria  
Sufrir la soledad de mi tormento!

The first quatrain was suggested by Auzias March, *Cant de Amor, I*:

Plagués a Deu que mon pensar fos mort  
e que passas ma vida en durment.

The whole stanza was translated by Hurtado de Mendoza in a well known sonnet *¡Si fuese muerto ya mi pensamiento!* See Pagès, *ibid.*, p. 415.



CLXVII

*Quando para partir se remueve.*

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Quando dal proprio sito si  
rimove.*

CLXXXI

*Como aquel que a la muerte es condenado.*

The quatrains were suggested by the same lines of Ausias March  
as CXIII and CXXIV.

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## MISCELLANEOUS

### THE MOHAMMEDAN CRESCENT IN THE ROMANCE COUNTRIES

THERE are few national symbols more commonly known or more intimately associated with the nation or religion which they represent than is the Crescent with the Turkish nation and the Mohammedan religion. The Crescent is very often used in prose and poetry as a synonym for both people and faith; it is seen on Turkish flags and minarets and ships, and it is generally used as a weather vane. Shortly before the war with Russia in 1877-78 the Turks saw the necessity of forming a society to care for the sick and wounded, on the order of the Red Cross. Naturally they would not use the Christian symbol, and the new society was appropriately called the Red Crescent.

But although the use of the Crescent is so generally known, the reason for its adoption is not so well understood. The greater part of books of reference, if they attempt to explain the subject at all, say that the Turks assumed the Crescent as their symbol when they took Constantinople in 1453. The ancient city of Byzantium, on the site of which Constantinople was partially built, used the Crescent as its emblem as early as the time when Philip of Macedon besieged the city in the year 430 B. C. Philip, we are told was attempting to enter the city by surprise at night through a mine under the walls, when the moon suddenly appeared; the dogs, which even at that early day seem to have abounded in the city of the Golden Horn, began to bark, and aroused the inhabitants, who were thus enabled to repel an attack which otherwise would probably have been successful. The grateful inhabitants thereupon chose for the object of their especial devotion the torch-bearing Hecate (who was considered to preside over the phases of the moon), and made the crescent their emblem. Another version represents the saving light as that of the Aurora Borealis, and this manifestation was equally attributed to Hecate. It may be recalled here that Hecate

and the Greek Artemis (the Roman Diana), although unlike in other attributes, shared the honors of the moon, and this circumstance has given rise to more or less confusion and to a certain degree of identification of the two. The fact that Hecate was the moon-goddess of this occasion is emphasized by the reported barking of the dogs, for which her appearance was supposed to be a signal.

Another tradition, unsupported by history however, is that during the night which preceded the final assault of the Turks, their operations were favored by a partial eclipse of the moon, and that in consequence they took the crescent as an emblem of war.

But none of these explanations can be accepted if investigations are carried a little further, for it is evident that the Turks had used the Crescent long before the taking of Constantinople. The *Konversationslexicon* of Meyer relates that the Sultan Mohammed Tekesch (1192-1200) had ornamented his tent with a crescent, and Orchan (1326-1360) placed a silver crescent on the red standard which he gave to his janissaries. The flag of Genghis Khan, which floated before the Chinese wall in 1209, also bore a crescent. It is imaginable that this identity of their symbol with that of Constantinople might have encouraged the superstitious Turks to believe that the city was predestined to fall into their power, and might have stimulated their efforts during that desperate siege.

Thus far the Crescent has been considered as belonging to the Turks in particular, rather than to the Mohammedans in general, but any student of early Spanish and Portuguese history knows that this view cannot be supported. The *Maurorum quinque Lunas*, in the Latin description of the arms of Portugal, which were traditionally supposed to have been assumed after the Portuguese victory over the Moors in the battle of Ourique in 1139, were clearly Crescent standards of the Mohammedans. Besides this, many Portuguese families, as Brandão and Severim de Faria record, placed the Crescent or half-moon on their coat-of-arms to commemorate their victories over the Mohammedans, or the capture of Crescent standards, during the constant wars with the followers of the Prophet in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This device was displayed in the arms of the noble families of Alardos, Alpoem, Amaral, Besta, Cassena, Carvalho, Froes, Goes, Homem, Lemos, Pessos, Pintos, Queiros, Sousa, Taborda, Valentes, and Zagallos. Many

Spanish families assumed the Crescent for the same reason and the city of Pamplona, in Navarre, placed the half-moon on its shield in memory of the standard which was captured in the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, in 1212, where the Navarrese played so gallant a part. The coat-of-arms of the Córdovas de Cabra was accoladed with twenty-two Moorish banners, gained in the battle of Lucena (April 21, 1483), and seven of these banners bear the half-moon. Though it is true that the Turkish use of the Crescent must have been well known at that time, thirty years after the capture of Constantinople, the Moors of Andalusia would certainly not have carried on their banners a purely national symbol of the Turks.

Other instances might be cited, but these are sufficient to prove that Murray's Oxford Dictionary and the Encyclopaedia Britannica are mistaken in asserting that it is an anachronism to attribute the use of the Crescent to the Moors in Spain or to the Mohammedans at the time of the Crusades.

It is evident, also, that the Crescent should be regarded as a religious rather than as a national emblem, and as one common to all Mohammedans, regardless of origin.

This gives rise to the question: Why and when was it adopted? There are various possible answers. One may be found in a Spanish history of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, where it is recorded that the ancient philosophers believed that Providence and divine wisdom extended to the moon, and did not pass beyond, basing this opinion on an absurd and perverse interpretation of the verse: *Domine in coelo misericordia tua, et veritas tua usque ad nubes*. (This is the fifth verse of the thirty-fifth Psalm of the Vulgate, which corresponds to the thirty-sixth Psalm of Protestant versions. The verse is repeated with slight variations in the fifty-seventh and one hundred and eighth Psalms.) This opinion, some affirmed, was entertained by Mohammed and his followers, who drew thence the conclusion that God reigned above the moon and the Mohammedans below it, and for this reason they adopted the Crescent, or, as others say, the waning moon, to signify the authority which they claim in this lower world, using the emblem on their flags, seals, rings, sandals and turbans.

Another reason for the lunar emblem may be found in the al-

leged miracle of Mohammed, who, to confute the incredulity of some of his enemies, is said to have showed his power by dividing the moon with his finger, and slipping one of the pieces up the sleeve of his mantle. It is supposed that there is an allusion to this achievement in the first verse of the fifty-fourth sura :

The hour approaches, and the moon is split asunder.

This miracle may be entirely fictitious, or possibly it might be based upon Mohammed's skilful use of the knowledge of an approaching eclipse, of which the sceptics were unaware.

Then again, as the founder of Islam adopted a lunar year, the appearance of the new moon was naturally of great importance in the regulation of religious practices, as, for example, the beginning of Ramadan, a month consecrated to fasting by strict Mohammedans. Mohammedans in general, and the Turks in particular, give great heed to its appearance, considering the new moon to be especially favorable for undertaking any enterprise. An old writer relates that during a journey they would stop when the moon waned, and not proceed till the new moon reappeared.

The crescent is found on Arab weights of the first century of the Hegira, and was common to Mohammedans from Persia to Portugal. There is a tradition that an iron crescent covered with precious stones was suspended by a magnet over the tomb of Mohammed at Medina, and all this indicates a very early reverence for the sign among the Mohammedans.

Aside from these reasons, the regard of the Arabians for the moon might be accounted for on other grounds. The book of Job was written in the land of Uz, which probably corresponded to a part of Arabia, and there the afflicted man protests (XXXI, 26, 27) that he had never worshipped the moon, and it is evident from this there were idolaters even at that early time who were guilty of the practice. The queen of heaven, whom the Jews so obstinately persisted in worshipping, as told in the forty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah, is generally conceded to have been the moon. This form of idolatry long continued in Arabia, not unnaturally, among a people so given to the study of astronomy as the Arabians, and it persisted till the time of Mohammed, the moon being especially adored by the

tribe of Camenah; and Mohammed, who certainly did not lack the gifts of statecraft, may have thought it the part of wisdom to conciliate the good will of this tribe by according a certain recognition to the object of their worship, without compromising his monotheistic doctrines of divinity.

Professor Ridgeway has advocated the theory that the Mohammedans took the idea of the crescent from the ancient amulets long used in Asia Minor, made by fitting two boar's tusks together at the base. This figure, it is asserted, bears a closer resemblance to the crescent of the Turkish flag than does the new moon. Granting this, it seems probable that such amulets were a rude attempt to represent the new moon, an object of general observation, and one which naturally lends itself to superstitious charms. This seems more reasonable than to imagine that these amulets had any peculiar significance apart from representing the moon.

A singular outgrowth of this adoption of the Crescent is possibly to be found in the French and Italian romances which deal with the Mohammedans. In the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Chanson d'Antioche* the Mohammedans repeatedly invoke their supposed gods, Mohammed, Jupiter, Apolin and *Tervagant*. Larousse and others suggest doubtfully that the name may be derived from *ter* 'thrice,' and *vagantem*, the accusative of the present participle *vagans*, 'wandering'; a possible reason for this will be given a little later.

The Italian form of the name is Trivigante, and in the twelfth canto of the *Orlando Furioso* the Saracen Ferraù is represented as blaspheming Macone (Mohammed) and Trivigante in a rage. Commenting on this passage, Casella writes:

Trivigante is a supposed deity of the Saracens. Perhaps it comes from Trivia, a name which was given to Diana because she was adored at the meeting of three ways. As she was confused with the moon, and as the Mohammedans had the half moon as an ensign, perhaps it was believed by the Christians that they adored her.

Again, in the eighteenth canto, where Medoro is searching for the body of his slain master, Dardinello, king of Zamora, he fixes his eyes devoutly on the sky, where the moon was hidden behind the dark clouds, and prays that her light may aid him. Here Casella writes:

We said elsewhere that the Christians seeing on the banners of the Saracens the half moon, believed that they adored, among the other gods, Diana also, who was confused with the moon, and called also Trivia, whence perhaps their supposed god Trivigante. It is not therefore strange that Ariosto should put in the Saracen Medoro's mouth this beautiful prayer to the triform goddess.

Now there is a discrepancy here. Ariosto does not speak of Trivigante, and Medoro, although he does not use her name, clearly invokes Diana, the goddess of the moon and of hunting, not Trivigante, the warlike god. The passage of Ariosto has some resemblance with the episode of Nisus and Euryalus in the ninth book of the *Æneid*, and Medoro's prayer to the moon was probably suggested by Nisus' appeal to Diana as he hurled his spear:

Tu, dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori, etc.

But admitting that there is no reference to Trivigante in this passage, the fact seems to be that Casella has correctly conjectured the origin of the name, though the derivation from Trivia, which he advances, is perhaps less probable than that from *ter* and *vagantem*, mentioned above. This threefold idea is closely associated with the moon, or Diana, and is expressed in the epithets *triformis*, *tergemina* and *triceps*, and in the lines:

Terret, lustrat, agit, Proserpina, Luna, Diana,  
Ima, suprema, feras, sceptrum, fulgore, sagitta.

("Proserpina—or Hecate—terrifies the lower world with the sceptre, the moon illuminates the upper world with light, Diana hunts the wild beasts with the arrow.")

Casella apparently does not consider that Trivigante ought to be a goddess, not a god, if imagined identity with Diana were respected. The moon, too, is always feminine in Greek and Latin and all the Romance languages, and the poetic tradition of the classic writers is so strong that even in such a genderless language as English the feminine pronoun is generally used in referring to that luminary, though its name is derived from the Anglo-Saxon, in which it is strangely masculine, as is the German *Mond*, though the Dutch *maan* is feminine. The Germans indeed used to write



of *Herr Mond* (Lord Moon). In passing it is curious to note that the sun—*Sonne* in German and *zon* in Dutch—are both feminine, so that when the Dutch van Hemert speaks of *de Koningin des Hemels* he refers to the sun as the queen of heaven, not to the moon, and so too Schiller's *Lichteskönigin* is the sun.

The feminine idea of Tervagant is preserved, it is true, in the unflattering restriction of the word termagant—derived from the name of the turbulent god—to women exclusively at this day, although there are instances in old writers of its application to men also; but in the romances Tervagant is always masculine.

This variation may perhaps be explained when it is remembered that as there was no real basis of fact to give stability to the inventions of fiction, each romancer was at liberty to follow his own fancy, and when the original idea of identity with the moon was forgotten Tervagant was considered as the warlike companion of Mohammed, Jupiter and Apolin.

Possibly a link of transition from goddess to god can be found among the Dutch. In Lodewije van Velthem's *Roman van Lance-lot*, a thirteenth century Dutch translation from the French of Gautier Mappe, a Saracen conversing with Joseph of Arimathea (!) says:

Du weets wel dat maer iiij Goede en sijn,  
Mahomet, Tervagaen ende Apolijn  
Ende Jupiter, dits waerheit fijn.

("Thou knowest well that there are only four gods, Mahomet, Tervagaen and Apollijn and Jupiter, this is the pure truth.")

Verwijs and Verdam explain Tervagaen and its variants Tervogan and Tervogant, as corruptions of *Trismegistos*, 'thrice greatest, very great,' a surname of the Greek Hermes.<sup>6</sup> This divinity was a Greek adaptation of the Egyptian Thout or Thoth, who was considered to be the god of the moon, and who had the three attributes of presiding over time, measures, and the moon. It is easy to see how this threefold deity might be vaguely fused with Hecate, and have some influence in making Tervagant a masculine instead of a feminine deity. It cannot be supposed that the fact that the Arabians regard the moon as masculine had any influence on the

romancers; that would be crediting them with a more exact knowledge than they ever displayed of Oriental matters. A classical basis for their inventions is much more credible.

It is hardly necessary to say that these gods of the Mohammedans were pure inventions, for the followers of the prophet were and are monotheists. The Christians, in their racial and religious hatred, attributed the sin of idolatry to their formidable enemies in addition to their unquestionable errors of belief.

In regard to the presence of Jupiter and Apolin in this strange imaginary quartet, the inclusion of Jupiter was probably suggested merely by the fact that he was the chief deity of both Greeks and Romans. Apolin at first thought would seem to be the sun-god Apollo, one of the principal deities, and naturally associated with the moon. This is the Dutch explanation, and may be indeed the true one, but the *i* of the final syllable gives rise to the conjecture that the Apollyon of *Revelation* (IX, 11) may have had a share in the composite. The Christians, victims of the destructive invasions of the Mohammedans, would have considered them capable of worshipping the fallen angel of destruction, whom commentators on *Revelation* have believed to represent Mohammed and his successors leading their great armies of Saracens in their progress of desolation.

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#### A CORRECTION

IN his article on the "Versification of *El Misterio de los Reyes Magos*," published in volume VI of the *Romanic Review*, Dr. Espinosa (p. 399, note 65) makes the following statement apropos of Hanssen's theory that synaloephe does not exist in Old Spanish:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Such, at least, are the terms in which Hanssen's theory is recorded by Dr. Espinosa (p. 398), who in note 65 (p. 399) furthermore says that Hanssen's theory is "again upheld in his recent *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, § 102." As a matter of fact, however, in his *Gramática* Hanssen does not express himself with the absoluteness ascribed to him by Dr. Espinosa. What he says in the paragraph cited is literally and simply this: "A pesar de la aversión de los poetas a la sinalefa, parece que ésta, en algunos ejemplos aislados, ya existió temprano en el idioma: *faciem ad > faze a > fasia, hacia; Y elo* (leon.) en lugar de *e elo* (Staaff, L. 200). Los primeros ejemplos seguros del uso de la

"Recently, Lang has announced his belief in Hanssen's theory, *Romanic Review*, V, p. 13, note."

Let us see what foundation Dr. Espinosa had for his assertion that in the passage referred to I announced my belief in what he describes as Hanssen's theory. Note 34 on page 13 occurs in that part of my first article on the metre of the Poem of the Cid in which (pp. 12-14) the question as to the regular metres recognizable in the copy of Per Abbat is introduced, and the opinion is expressed that this text contains "some 430 pentasyllables (= 5.75 % of the total number of 7460 hemistichs of the *Poema*), 140 of which combine with heptasyllables in a line resembling the metre of the *Chanson de Roland*."<sup>2</sup> The note gives a list of the lines containing the 430 pentasyllables in question and begins with the following preliminary remarks: "Our method of counting syllables will be explained in the second<sup>3</sup> part of this article. Suffice it to say here that the text has been taken exactly as handed down, and that synaloephe is excluded. The numbers in italics represent the combination 5-7."

Now, inasmuch as the clause "and that synaloephe is excluded" is the only place in the whole article in which synaloephe is at all mentioned, it must be the one that Dr. Espinosa seized upon for the assertion at issue. But do these five words, whether taken in their context or by themselves, warrant the interpretation that in and by

sinalefa en la versificación, presenta el Arcipreste de Hita." And before, § 100 (p. 44), Hanssen observes with regard to the closely related phenomenon of elision: "En la antigua poesía castellana, la elision no se halla con mucha frecuencia, y sigue disminuyendo poco á poco." Manifestly, it is one thing to say that synaloephe does not exist at all in Old Spanish, and quite another that no certain examples—Hanssen does not say 'no examples'—of it appear in the poetical texts preceding Juan Roiz, most of which, as is well known, cannot as yet be studied in critical editions. It is by keeping distinct the things that are different, not by confusing them, that the cause of science is advanced.

<sup>2</sup> A number of errors contained in this list, due partly to overlooking of misprints, partly to inadvertent inclusion of lines having debatable features, will be corrected in a subsequent article.

<sup>3</sup> By this was meant at the time the second part of the Notes on the Metre of the Cid-epic as originally planned. But these Notes having grown into a consideration of the larger problem of the development of Castilian epic poetry itself, with the solution of which the question of the metre is inseparably bound up, several articles will intervene before the specific discussion of the metrical form of the *Poema* is resumed.

them the author announced his acceptance of Hanssen's or anybody else's theory respecting the employment of synaloephe in Old Spanish in general or even in some one text in particular? Obviously not. In the first place, no one at all conversant with scientific procedure would formulate the announcement of his belief in a theory so important and still so debatable as that regarding the use of hiatus, elision and synaloephe in Old Spanish, in language so brief and indefinite as that contained in the preliminary remark under discussion, unsupported by either argument or reference to authority. Not a word is said in that clause, nor for that matter anywhere in the article, of this question or of Hanssen's position regarding it. Besides, it is not merely a matter of affirming or denying the presence of synaloephe in Old Spanish—over a half a century ago Diez<sup>4</sup> spoke of it as a phenomenon common to the whole domain of Romance poetry—but far more of determining the conditions under which it occurs. That this problem has been brought anywhere near its solution by Dr. Espinosa's publication on the "Versification of the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*" seems rather doubtful, to say the least. To be sure, Dr. Espinosa says (p. 398): "I am absolutely certain that synaloephe is frequent enough to warrant my rejecting the theory that it does not exist at all and that the first examples date from the 14th century."

But what is the basis of this absolute certainty? On p. 386 we find Dr. Espinosa commenting as follows on l. 10 (*Si es verdat, bine lo sabre*) of the *Misterio*: "*Bine* is certainly of two syllables here. Cf. also verses 51, 101. See, however, 39."<sup>5</sup> Now, historical grammar, as Dr. Espinosa might easily have learned from such books as Ford's *Old Spanish Readings* (e. g. p. XX) and

<sup>4</sup> *Kunst- und Hoppoesie*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>5</sup> The note to l. 39 (*bine lo veo sines escarno*) reads as follows: "In verse 39 one is inclined to consider *bine* as *bin*, since a similar emendation corrects a hemistich of verse 67. The use of the doublets *bine*, *bin* is not impossible, but seems somewhat improbable. Cf., however, *dond* 20, *grant* 85, etc. I believe that a more probable emendation would be to consider *sines* a scribal error for *sin*." Unless we entirely misunderstand this note, it not only reaffirms the position previously taken that the spelling *bine* represents a dissyllabic, and otherwise unknown, Spanish derivative of *bene*, but regards it as improbable that the author of the *Misterio* used the monosyllabic reflex of the Latin word, the only one employed in the contemporary poem of the *Cid* and recognized by historical grammar.

Hanssen's *Gramática* (§ 67), which he repeatedly cites, shows it to be fairly certain that, quite to the contrary of Dr. Espinosa's assumption, the monosyllabic *bien* (*bien* > *bién*) was at the time of the *Misterio*, as it still is, the regular Spanish reflex of Latin *bene*, there being no evidence of a derivation retaining the atonic final *e*. A form like *bine* can therefore hardly be more than an imperfect writing of *bien*. Nor is this an isolated case. Even as Mephistopheles bids the ambitious student pin his faith on the letter of the word, so, to quote only one or two more instances, absolute certainty leads Dr. Espinosa to discover Spanish dissyllables in Latin spellings like *nocte* (l. 9), *pace* (ll. 25, 85).<sup>6</sup>

But to return to the main topic, Dr. Espinosa's construction of the clause under discussion is unfounded in the second place because in the very note containing that clause it is explicitly stated that "the method of counting syllables will be explained in the second article"; in other words, it will be explained neither in the note nor anywhere in the article in which the clause occurs. Needless to say that this precluded exactly any definite expression of belief, or disbelief, in such a thing as synaloephe, without which, as everybody knows, it is well-nigh impossible to chase a panting syllable through time and space.' In the light of this unequivocal statement and of the obvious fact that the passage in which it occurs was chiefly concerned with a preliminary estimate of the number of pentasyllables in the text of Per Abbat, it would certainly seem as though Dr. Espinosa might have realized the incongruity of his interpretation of the five words in question, and have found for them a meaning far more consistent with the tenor of the whole exposition. The idea underlying them was, of course, that in the absence of an explanation of matters pertaining to syllable-counting, and for the very reason of that absence,

<sup>6</sup> No explanation whatsoever, to say nothing of proof, is offered for taking a position so entirely at variance with the results of modern research. Possibly it was suggested by the example of Lidforss, one of the earlier editors of the *Misterio*; It is hardly necessary to say that Staaff's remark (*Dialecte léonais*, p. 192): "La forme *tjne-tenet* est probablement une faute de notaire, mais rappelle le *bine* (< *bene*) des Reyes Magos" refers only to the *i* in both forms. As for the Latin spelling *nocte*, the assumption of its dissyllabic value is not by any means, as Dr. Espinosa may possibly have thought, justified by the fact that the Spanish formation *noche* occurs several times in the *Cid*-poem beside *noch*. For the probable influence of Leonese upon Castilian in forms retaining atonic final *e*, see Staaff, *l. c.*, 212-213.

it was thought best to exclude for the present from the count of pentasyllables such hemistichs as contained combinations of final and initial vowels which might with some reason be regarded as cases of synaloephe,<sup>7</sup> and which, if so treated, would yield additional examples of the same metre. Is exclusion of synaloephe from an enumeration equivalent to saying that it does not exist at all?<sup>8</sup> Evidently no more than the confusion of writing and utterance noted above is equivalent to proving that it does exist. Doubtless some such fuller phrasing as 'cases of synaloephe are not included in the count,' or "hemistichs containing what may be considered cases of synaloephe are excluded' would have been better than 'synaloephe is excluded'; but the latter expression seemed sufficient for the purpose, and it must be borne in mind that even explicit statements are subject to misconstruction if read without consideration of the context. If, however, Dr. Espinosa was not certain of the import of the clause, and nevertheless thought its use pertinent to the discussion, one fails to understand why he did not represent his interpretation of it as merely conjectural, instead of giving it the form of an assertion as unqualified as it is unwarranted.

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APROPOS OF PROVENÇAL *affron*. (ROMANIC REVIEW. VII, 177)

AFTER sending off the note on *affron* it occurred to the writer that the presence of the vocable *tutor*, representing the Italian adverb *tutt'ora*, *tutt'or*, might serve to explain how the expression *de conquerre uos er*, 'you will have to conquer,' 'it will remain for you to conquer,' with the employment of the preposition *de* instead of *a*, found its way into our Provençal text. It is well known that the manuscript containing the best copy of the satire addressed by Joanez d'Albuisson to Sordel is of Italian origin, as is shown, among

<sup>7</sup> Including in this term, for the sake of brevity, cases of crasis.

<sup>8</sup> Arguments for the admission of synaloephe in the Gallego-Portuguese Lyric were presented by the present writer in his edition of the Songs of King Denis (1894), in his discussion of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* in *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, XXXII (1908), pp. 144-145, and in *Literaturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Philol.*, 1912, col. 291-292.

other things, by a number of Italian words and spellings. Now, *esser de* followed by an infinitive corresponds very closely to the Italian construction *esser da* with infinitive, which has been current since the time of Dante both in the sense occurring in our passage and in related uses. Thus Virgil admonishes Dante, *Inferno* XXXIV, 68-69:

Ma la notte risurge; ed oramai  
È da partir, chè tutto avem veduto.

Boccaccio, *Decam.*,<sup>1</sup> Proemio: La gratitudine è sommamente da commendare, e il contrario da biasimare; Introduzione II: Non è perciò così da correre, come mostra che voi vogliate fare. F. Soave, *Novelle morali*, I, 4: Ad una schiavitù sì obbrobriosa la morte è da preferire; V. Gioberti, *Primato morale*, II, 38: Negli scorati l'orgoglio non è da temere.

It is quite possible, then, if not probable, that in our text the construction of *esser* with *de* and the infinitive, though not entirely foreign to Provence, echoes the speech of the Italian scribe rather than that of the Provençal singer. If this should be the correct explanation, it would serve as another argument in favor of our interpretation of the passage in question.

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## ETIMOLOGIC NOTES

### \*TRUDITARE

CLASSIC Latin has *agitare* beside *agere*, *cantare* beside *canere*, *cantitare* beside *cantare*. With the help of such models, spoken Latin developed *\*truditare* from the stem of *trudere*. This *\*truditare* became *\*turtare*, which is the source of Italian *urtare*, Provençal *turtar* and *urtar*, French *hurter* and later *heurter*. The change of *\*truditare* to *\*turtare* has parallels in French *porveeir* < *providere*, Provençal *assetar* < *\*asseditare*.

The loss of initial *t* seems to show that *\*turtas* and *\*turtat* were mistaken for verbs combined with the object *t(e)*. In Spanish,

<sup>1</sup> See Gauchat e Kehrli, *Il Canzoniere Provenzale* H, in *Studi di Filologia romanza*, 5, p. 495.



*a ti te veo* has essentially the same meaning as *te veo*; likewise *te \*turtat* could have been taken for a variant of *t(e) \*urtat*. It is also possible that *\*turtas* was often felt to contain the word *tu*, and therefore became *\*urtas*. A parallel is seen in Spanish *uñe* < *iungit*: here the initial sound was mistaken for the derivative of *illi* found in *gelo* < *illi illu*.

The French change of *hurter* to *heurter* was due to the opening influence of *r*; similar developments are those of *murtrir* > *meurtrir*, *cirge* > *cierge*, *virge* > *vierge*. The sound *h* may have arisen (as also in *hérissier*?) from the emphasis with which the verb, on account of its meaning, was often uttered. Or perhaps the *h* is Germanic: a word similar in form and meaning is Dutch *houwen*, corresponding to German *hauen* and English *hew*.

#### \*PERPEDANEU

MEYER-LÜBKE'S dictionary gives French *parpain* and Rician *parpaun* as derivatives of *\*perpendiu*. These words seem to have come from two different sources, and neither of them corresponds to *\*perpendiu*. In early French a derivative of *\*perpendiu* would have rime with *engin*. It is true that we find the spelling *parpin* in Godefroy, but the usual form was *parpain* or *perpain*. We may therefore assume that the form *parpin* indicates merely the leveling of *pain* and *pin* in spoken French.

Latin *pedalis* and *pedaneus* had the same general sense; used as a noun, *pedale* meant "measure." Apparently the derivatives of *pedaneu* came to mean "measured, squared, smoothed." Spanish has *peana* beside *peaña*, so we may admit *\*pedanu* as a variant of the longer form. From *\*perpedaneu* came French *parpain* (f. *parpagne*), Spanish *perpiaño*, Portuguese *perpianho* (recorded in Cortesão's *Subsidios* and Viana's dictionary); probably also Sicilian *parpagnu*, given by Mortillaro as meaning "measure." In Sicilian, *d* is often changed to *r*, as *ru peri* < *duo pedes*,<sup>1</sup> and *\*perprañño* could have lost *r* by disimilation. The difference between Spanish *peaña* and *perpiaño* shows that the *e* of *\*pedañño* was more strongly stressed than the second *e* of *\*perpedañño*.

<sup>1</sup> De Gregorio, *Saggio di fonetica siciliana*, 98, Palermo, 1890.

Pallioppi givs *parpaun* az a variant ov *partaun*. From *vair* < *uidere*, it iz clear that *parpaun* < \**perpedanu* may be considerd normal. The form with *t*, belonging to a diffrent dialect, seems to imply an erly loss ov the second vouel, *rpd* > *rpt* having paralels in French *nete* < *nitida*, Provencial *posca* < \**possega* (with *g* az in *poss'ego*), Italian *ratto* < *rapidu*.

## SOLA

MEYER-LÜBKE givs a theoretic "*\*sola*" az the basis ov corresponding Romanic forms, and a similar idēa iz to be found in Walde's Latin diccionery. Tuw simpl facts hav bin overlookt: classic *solum* ment 'sole,' and had the plural *sola*.

## SERA

THE *e* ov *sēra* has becom *i* in Emilian, hwær strest clōs *e* dus not normaly make *i*, except by harmonic chanje (*mīl* < \**melī*). This development, hwich seems werthy ov mencion in Meyer-Lübke's etimolojic diccionery, woz cauzd by asociacion with the derivativ ov *matutina*.

## SPATHA

IN French and Provencial, *d* became a fricativ between vouels, and French developpt the same sound from *t*. This fricativ woz lost in the north, but jenrally chanjed to *z* in the south. Provencial *espaza*, givn by Meyer-Lübke az a normal derivativ ov *spatha*, woz borrod from French and shows a normal suthern treatment ov the northern derivativ ov *t*.

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## REVIEWS

*Humbaut*: Altfranzösischer Artusroman des XIII. Jahrhunderts nach Wendelin Foerster's Abschrift der einzigen Chantilly-Handschrift zum ersten Male kritisch bearbeitet von Jacob Stürzinger aus dessen Nachlass ergänzt herausgegeben von Dr. Hermann Breuer. Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur. Band 35. Dresden, 1914. XXVII + 201 pp.

It is more than forty years since Professor Foerster made a copy of the Arthurian poems in the Old French manuscript, at that time the property of the Duc d'Aumale and now one of the gems of that wonderful collection in the Château at Chantilly. Of the nine poems found in this manuscript, number 626 in the catalogue, this is the last to be published. This does not mean that it has been neglected until recently, for the task of editing the poem was entrusted by Foerster to his friend, Jakob Stürzinger, who was professor for several years at Bryn Mawr. Stürzinger devoted many years to the work but was prevented from finishing the edition on account of his many activities and poor health. After his death in 1903 nothing was done towards finishing the work until in 1912 the material accumulated by Stürzinger was confided to Dr. Hermann Breuer, who, after arranging and supplementing it, has finally brought out a critical edition of the poem. Dr. Breuer has recently completed a similar unfinished task in publishing the *Roman de Cristal et Clarie*, GRL XXXVI, which had been begun by Apfelstedt and Feilitzen.

The material left by Stürzinger consisted of the text, a table of proper names, and the notes for the first 2475 vv., besides scattered notes on the rest of the text and an outline of an introduction. Breuer abridged Stürzinger's study of the language of the copyist, rewrote the section on the language of the author and the summary of the poem and omitted the paragraph on the versification. He also compiled the glossary which is fairly complete and added a list of proverbs occurring in the poem, a feature which it might be worth while to imitate in publishing similar works. Foerster has given the editors the benefit of his wide scholarship and Suchier has made a few helpful suggestions.

From his brief study of the rhymes and the hiatus, the editor concludes that the poem is in the Picard dialect, but he wisely refrains from attempting to precise the exact region. To the five instances of imperfect rhymes should be added *ouverte*: *adestre* 3379 and *fiert*: *trenciet* 3489. The form *niés* [nepos] as accus. occurs in 791 as well as 611. He omits to state that the final cons. falls in *né* [navem] 2908.

The treatment of the language is followed by a rather detailed summary of the poem occupying nine pages. Compared with this the page and a half devoted to the authorship and the sources seem quite insufficient. In fact practically nothing is added to what has been said by Gaston Paris in *Hist. litt.* XXX. Even the references to editions are not brought up to date. In citing the episode *l'hoite incommode* the old edition of Méon and not Armstrong's later edition is mentioned and nothing is said of the five other versions of the story which Armstrong has listed. For the incident of the head-cutting challenge he refers only

to the *Vert Chevalier*, but it occurs also in *La Damoisele à la Mule, Perceval* 12629 ff., where Caraduc is the hero, *Perlesvaus*, pp. 102-4, *Floire et Blanchefleur* and in two Irish epics *Feis tige Bricreud* and *Fled Bricreud*: cf. Rom. XII, 377. Another curious episode (2760-3000) which as far as I know does not occur elsewhere is passed over without comment. It is the account of how Arthur and ten knights who accompany him arrive at a large river and find a boat which has the peculiar property of being able to carry only an uneven number of passengers, never an even number, for in that case the boat would sink at once. Fortunately, Arthur and his knights number eleven, so they are able to cross without danger. Surely this incident is sufficiently curious to deserve study or at least a special mention in an edition of the poem. Another feature that deserves further treatment is the relationship between this poem and *Meraugis de Portlesgues* and *La Vengeance Raguidel* by Raoul de Houdenc. Two of the characters found in the Hunbaut, Gervain Cadruz and the lady of Gautdestroit, play important parts, the former in *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, the latter in *La Vengeance Raguidel*. It is not best to discuss in detail this subject here, but the present reviewer hopes to publish elsewhere the result of his comparisons of the Hunbaut with Raoul's poems. It is but just to state that this meagre chapter on the sources and the theme was the incomplete work of Stürzinger and that Breuer in a note states that he was unable to complete it because he lacked the necessary books. However, in its present shape it is practically useless and demands an entirely new treatment. This would be important from the point of view of other Arthurian poems, because the Hunbaut is late and seems to be little more than a collection of themes taken from earlier works. The introduction is appropriately supplemented by a life of Stürzinger and a bibliography of his works, compiled by Dr. E. Dietz.

Another important subject which has not been treated in the introduction is the versification. The poem is arranged in rhymed couplets but the reader is at once struck by the predominance of rich rhymes. This is so noticeable that I have computed the rhymes according to the system adopted by Freymond, ZRP VI, 1 ff. The results show that 89 per cent. of the rhymes are rich rhymes, there being only 6 per cent. regular masc. rhymes and 5 per cent. fem. This ratio of rich rhyme is unusually high, as is shown by Freymond's calculation and should not be neglected in determining the date of composition, which is of course late. G. Paris has called it *un des derniers romans bretons*. However, the edition does not even take up the question of date. The text of the poem has been treated with care and when changes have been made, the manuscript reading has usually been indicated at the foot of the page. The notes were largely compiled by Stürzinger but Breuer has suggested quite a number of improvements in foot-notes signed with his name. The glossary, entirely the work of Breuer, is reasonably complete and there are special lists of proper names with citations from the contexts to explain their use and with the rhyme word if they occur at the end of the verse. As far as the text, notes and vocabulary are concerned one cannot help feeling that much improvement has resulted from the careful scholarly work of Dr. Breuer. The following details are based on a comparison of this edition with a photograph copy of the manuscript and on the notes compiled by the reviewer who was preparing an edition of the poem when he learned that Dr. Breuer had resumed the task left so long in abeyance.

V. 28 *moine*, not *monne*. MS. reads *mône*.—128 *baut* = seize, rather than

surrender. No need to suppose *nus* = *nos*; it is rather nom. of *nul*.—132 It is better to correct *aveu* to *aveuc* as in 264, 275, 299, etc. The absence of the final consonant in this case is doubtless a scribal error due to the initial *c* of the following word.—234 *sen* for *son* on account of *senestre* of preceding verse.—268 MS. *mais je sai bien estre arestis*, so no need of changing the text. Humbaut means that he knows well how to act slowly on occasions where force is not needed. This prudence of H. contrasts with the bravery of Gauvain, v. 267. *Arestis* is nom. sing. agreeing with *je*. The note to v. 268 is therefore unnecessary.—271 *vaura* (*valoir*), not *vanra*; *meslier* 270 means 'service,' not 'Gelegenheit.' 'I know well that such a service will be of importance to him.'—295 MS. *ço*, not *ce*.—296 *armes* better than *armés*, cf. 1328.—345 *do je* for *doi je*; for mention of this and similar forms cf. *Chev. as Il. Espees*, p. XXXIV.—423 semicolon at end instead of comma.—434 It is better to keep the MS. version *erent armé* as Breuer admits in a note. Stürzinger's change is quite unnecessary.—457 *usages*, not *u sages*.—518 A slighter change would be *cil par estovoir jéune*, 'for that man fasts through necessity, etc.—568 *faisoit* a simpler correction than *feroit* and the imperfect tense is needed rather than cond.—619 *sel*; the MS. has *ses*, which should have been noted in the variants.—689 MS. *quant*, not *quar*.—843 Put semicolon at end of this verse and not after 842.—863 It is questionable whether the unusual *tamés* should have been introduced for the perfectly satisfactory *cremes* simply to form a rich rhyme. Although rich rhyme is usual, there are several exceptions, cf. 827, 843, 959, etc.—896 Correct *serré* to *serres*, cf. 516, 1397.—910 *vêue*. B. translates *Anhöhe*, but the meaning 'the distance one can see' seems not only more usual, but more appropriate in this verse and also 1015, 99.—985 If one reads .xl., not xi., there is no need of adding a word; *quarante* gives the right number of syllables.—1066 Breuer calls Hunbaut a dative and refers to the glossary, where, however, this reference is not listed. It would be better to consider it a vocative, cf. vv. 90, 256, 882, 912, etc., and put colon after *dist*.—1075, 6 The editor has not attempted to explain these difficult verses. May not the indefinite article before *chevalier* have been omitted? In that case, the number of syllables would be correct and the sense satisfactory, if *chevalier* were taken as a nom., cf. 1327. There seems to be a lacuna after 1075.—1093 The interpolation unnecessary, cf. v. 2398 where the same expression occurs.—1150 No need of apostrophe with *bel*, for *encontre* is both masculine and feminine.—1178 MS. *que vos*.—1267 MS. *mrs*, not *murs*.—1274 The editors omit giving the MS. *leior* for *seior*—1280 *si* for MS. *li*, which is omitted in variants, but explained in note. There are several cases where the scribe has confused *s* and *l*.—1324 *terre*, better than *rente*. The abbreviation is the same as vv. 1335, 1343.—1384 *destanroit* is meaningless; *destruiroit*, cited by Breuer in the glossary, would be satisfactory.—1390 Instead of *encant*, the MS. has *enrant*, which is another form of *errant*; cf. Godefroy, *enramment*, *anramment* = *erramment*.—1397 *ça*, which B. would change to *si*, is really *ja* in MS. The last form is satisfactory and the change and note are both unnecessary.—1457 This verse may be parenthetical and then the change of *le* to *les* would not be necessary.—1479 It might be well to change *se* to *le*, as *l* and *s* are confused at times. There is but one other case of *se* = *sa*, whereas there are several of *le* for *la*.—1528 Why should the abbreviation for the numeral be solved in this case and not in 1530.—1538 Keep *deface* < *desfacier*, v. n.—1594 *rote* has both genders, so unnecessary to change adj.—1669 MS. *repondre*.—

1680 *n'i ert*, otherwise a syllable is lacking.—1748 This verse is repeated in MS. In variants it is stated that v. 1739 is repeated, which is incorrect.—1756 Better to accept B.'s slight adaptation than to omit the hemistich.—1778 Better to connect this verse with the following and put comma after *forest*.—1785 MS. *ses*, not *les*.—1799 *on* is misprint for *ont*.—1825 The substitution of *frai* for *irai* is questionable. There is no instance of *frai* in the MS., whereas *ferai* is common. I prefer the ellipsis.—1829 MS. *donnoie* for *donoie*.—1891 Why not a lacuna after 1889 instead of 1891, in which case *cuis* might be kept and semicolon placed after *ostell*?—1892 MS. *ch'r*.—1973 MS. *rois*.—1986 Thomas's suggestion of *u cort Oisse* is excellent, both on account of the rich rhyme that it affords and to distinguish this *Biaumont* from the others.—1988 The abbreviation may be for *quant* instead of *grant*, then the line would be *Con j'a esté por li, quant pris Hardement por li decevoir*. For *li* = *lui*, cf. 3420.—2016 Put comma after this verse and period after 2017.—2084 MS. *fesisse*.—2127 Better to correct *ceur* to *ceurt* = *cort*, cf. 140, 855.—2177 Change *atant* to *ataint*. The latter alone suits the meaning.—2209 MS. *vient* is satisfactory; *veut* not *vient* is the regular form for pres. *vouloir*.—2284 *le* is not pleonistic, for *c'* refers to *l'eure* just as *qu*, 2283.—2304 Better to keep *est*, cf. note to this verse.—2436 MS. *ne*, not *nen*.—2450 One syllable lacking. The editor changes *nes* to *ne* and adds *pas*. A simpler change would be to read *nes ne*. In this case the scribe might easily have failed to copy the second word.—2485 MS. *faic*.—2572 Why not add *le* before *di* instead of inserting *con*?—2593 The note shows that *Gaheris* in three instances has three syllables and in one (2656) four syllables. As the same variation occurs in *Veng. Raguidel*, it would have been better to leave the trisyllabic form in this verse and also in 2605 and 2721 and not alter these lines.—2598 *félissent* may be kept if *se* is added. The only reason for the change is to secure a rich rhyme.—2602 MS. *de tant* for *devant*.—2605 Keep the MS. *Gaheris* and *pas*. In the two other cases of *s'ire* 1907, 2854 *pas* is found.—2612 It seems preferable to include this verse in the speech which would then comprise vv. 2606–12. No change would then be necessary; *cont* is sub. 3; "let one tell the other about himself."—2652 One syllable too many in MS. Why not omit *puis*, the position of which Breuer calls astonishing?—2705 MS. *se*, not *ses*. The variants should show that MS. has an abbreviation for *et* before *est*.—2727 MS. *tot*.—2756 MS. *et*, not *si*.—2844 For the unusual adj. *nului*, one might read *nul liu*, cf. 2723 *Cligés* 639, *Erec* 1042, 2552.—2914 The scribe omitted the *s* of *armes*.—2925 MS. *vasaus*.—2927 *qui* lacking in MS. the interpolation needed, but should be indicated as such.—2938 MS. *passer*.—3049 The meaning demands *les* for *le*, cf. 3048.—3163 Period or at least a semicolon needed at end of line.—3181 No lacuna at end of verse, for 3180 and 3182 are connected in thought and 3181 is parenthetical.—3191 *rederont* which the editor lists in glossary without explanation is doubtless for *renderont*, which would make the verse intelligible.—3208 MS. *aïc*.—3231 *empire* < *empirier* = "to make worse." The reference in glossary is wrong and the explanation meaningless.—3236 *corcie*; the reference in glossary should be corrected to 3236.—3255 This verse is repeated at the top of the next col.; *pardonst* in 1st case and *pardoist* in 2d. Probably *pardoist* would be the best form, cf. v. 1553.—3419 MS. *cevaucet* = *cevaugoit*.—3445 MS. *mailenant*.—3479 One syllable too many in MS. Better to keep *soie*, cf. vv. 221, 1909, etc., and omit *je*, which is doubtless a repetition of copyist. MS. has *encore* correctly.—3488 Better to suppress *et* and

leave *encontre*, which is often found as adverb in this poem, whereas *contre* occurs only as prep.—3556 MS. *durrement*.—3558 MS. *foliates*.—3563, 4 Apparently a slight lacuna, for the rhyme is lacking.—3565 MS. *grans*.—3606 *lunedi*. Why change the text? The sense is better without change.

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*Le Roman de Renard* par Lucien Foulet, Elève diplômé de l'École des Hautes Etudes (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes, Sciences historiques et philologiques, Fasc. 211), Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, Edouard Champion, 1914, gr. in-8, pp. 574.

The world of scholars is already indebted to Professor Lucien Foulet for the original and solid results of his studies in two widely divided fields of French literature. In his articles, published in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* between 1905 and 1908, he has questioned the value of the French *lais* as offering evidence of their Celtic origin, and he has at once brushed aside numerous flimsy theories, and added to our definite knowledge in regard to an interesting literary type. His *Correspondance de Voltaire 1726-1729* (1913), while furnishing a model edition of a very small part of his author's epistolary work, instructs, surprises and alarms his readers in regard to the reliability of editors in general, when those of Voltaire are convicted of sins of omission in collecting and transcribing, and of errors in following their predecessors in dating and confusing different letters. In his *Roman de Renard* he has presented us with a masterpiece of historical literary criticism. In emphasizing, or rather in attributing its due share to, the personal, the artistic and the learned elements of the work, he strikes against the tendency—one of the results of romanticism in literary history—to find in medieval literature the spontaneous, impersonal, the popular, the communal, if you will have it. If the book is a general attack on the thesis set forth in detail in L. Sudre's *Sources du Roman de Renard* (1892) and accepted by Gaston, Paris (1894), who had made the original suggestion (1881), that the Roman had its chief source in popular tradition, it is more specific in its attack against the thesis of which Carl Voretsch is the most recent exponent in a series of articles published in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (1891-1892), that the *Rheinhard Fuchs* reproduces line upon line an early, closely concatenated French version, which has not come down to us, except in the *rifacimento* of the existing French text. The mere title *Roman de Renard* is misleading, engaging even those who have studied it to ascribe to it the unity of the *Roman de Troie* or the *Roman de Tristan*, while in fact it is only a chain of episodes, more or less closely connected with each other according to the artistic aims and talents of the various authors who have done their part to continue the story. The manuscripts offer no final criterion for either the date, or the order in the collection of the different branches, as the archetype of the manuscripts was due to a collector who did nothing but place in juxtaposition the branches known to him. For this reason the branches must be studied and judged separately, and the form in which we have them must be considered as the originals, and not as *rifacimenti* of earlier non-existent versions. In the study of these branches, amidst the mass of details both of the French work and of the confirmatory evidence which the author brings



forward to prove his thesis, he has ever in his mind those sane dicta of literary criticism which militate against the theories that (426) "plus on remonte haut dans le moyen-âge, plus on a de chance de trouver des oeuvres parfaites, et que plus une oeuvre renferme des traits illogiques, plus tardive elle doit être," and that (272) "cette perfection artistique qu'on veut désigner par le terme d'archaïsme, en vertu du postulat très en honneur qui veut qu'au moyen-âge les genres littéraires aient évolué à rebours."

After stating the difficulties of the problem and their explanation by others, Professor Foulet begins at once the exposition of his own. The prologue of Branche II, in which the Old French author announces that he is presenting to his readers an entirely new literary genre, must be accepted at its face value, both because this "branche" does not refer to others, as is the general practise, and because the story it tells is alluded to, not only by the other branches, but by the earliest French works which refer to this new type of vernacular literature, of which the date can be placed towards 1170. So insistent is Professor Foulet in denying the existence of any popular conception of the story earlier than this branche, that he gives a strained interpretation to the often-cited passage from the *De sua vita* of Guibert de Nogent, written between 1114 and 1117, of which the correct text has been known only since 1907: *Solebat autem episcopus eum Isengrinum irrendendo vocare, propter lupinam speciem, sic enim aliqui solent appellare lupos. Ait ergo scelestus ad presulem: "Hicine est dominus Ysengrinus repositus!"* For him the "aliqui" refers to "quelques personnes, selon toute vraisemblance . . . des clercs," for whom it was "très possible" to find the name in a Latin work, a predecessor of *Ysengrimus*, showing a willingness on Professor Foulet's part to believe in lost Latin, if not French, models for the existing Old French poems. And let but the evidence be produced, as it can be produced, of the use of "aliqui" in medieval chroniclers referring to folk traditions, and his argument will collapse. On the other hand, he sets aside for good any argument drawn from the fabliau *Richeut*, whose heroine's name has been supposed to be taken from the name given to Renard's wife in the lost "older" branches of the cycle. Only in XXIV, for which the only authority is a manuscript of the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century, is the usual name of Hermeline, or a variant thereof, changed for that of Richeut. That the allusion in *Richeut* to the desire of Henry II to possess Toulouse may apply to the year 1188 as well as to 1158 when he actually besieged it, as argued by Professor Foulet (92-3), is further established by the phrase in Bertran de Born's "S'eu fos aissi senhor" in reference to Richard; "E Tolosa qu'el te sobre deman," which could not have referred to the earlier date.

The chapter on the chronology of the branches may be regarded as the *point de repère* of the succeeding chapters which fill in with details its outline of Professor Foulet's thesis. He devotes no less than a fifth of his book (120-237) to establishing the priority in composition to the other branches of what he calls "le premier poème de Renard et d'Isengrin," a combination of II and Va, in showing its source, and assigning to it a definite date. He is not the first to note that three episodes, Renard and Chantecler, Renard and the Titmouse, and Renard and the Rape of Hersent, are arranged in the same order in both the French poem and in *Ysengrimus*, but for some, this parallelism is due to the imitation in the latter of the original form of the French poem, and for others,

to a common source in folk-tales, while Professor Foulet's cogent arguments force one to see the close dependence of the French poem both for details and general setting on the Latin poem. At the same time he points out the probable indebtedness of the episode of Renard and Tiécelin to a fable of Marie de France. Nor is he the first to make II and Va one, as two classes of manuscripts of the thirteenth century have the same arrangement, adopted by Méo. in his edition, which is based on a manuscript of one of these classes. But Professor Foulet is the first to point out that Va supplies the logical completion of the "guerre" between Isengrin which ends so unexpectedly in II, which leaves Isengrin and Hersent beaten, and like present-day pacifists satisfied and unashamed. Drawing his illustrations from examples of medieval French laws, the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* of Philippe de Beaumanoir, he shows that it was only a question of a private war between the two protagonists of the story, which is announced in the prologue, of which the final phase would properly take place in the royal court of Noble, such as it is set forth in Va in a naturally complementary way. Assured of the unity of the story, Professor Foulet dates its composition precisely by finding in the Lombard camel, so learned in law (Va, 444-451), an allusion to Peter of Pavia, who visited France as a Papal legate, 1174-8, and preached there the crusade in aid of Constantinople in 1176, of which one finds a reflection in the phrase, "Por aporтер mon segnor Noble Treü devers Costentinoble." Finally, the reference in I to Pierre de St. Cloud as the author of the story of the trial of Renard at the royal court, must be accepted at its face value as the testimony in regard to the authorship of the original Renard poem by the author of a supplementary poem.

With his main thesis established, Professor Foulet easily makes his next point that V, which gives the story of the bacon stolen by Renard to be devoured by Isengrin, was borrowed from *Ysengrimus* by a later writer to insert as an interpolation into the original story. This indebtedness has been admitted by earlier scholars, but for them it supported the thesis that the French poem is only a *remaniement*, with the use of the Latin poem, of the earlier French poem, used by the author of *Reinhart Fuchs*, which shows no evidence of the use of the Latin poem in his version of this episode. This omission is explained by Professor Foulet, by the fact that the German writer introduced the story in a way different from his French source, the existing poem, which only borrows from the Latin poem in its introduction to the real story. For the second part of V the author went to his French predecessor for the setting, if not for the details of the story of Renard's defeat by an inferior animal, the cricket. The author of XV was again an early imitator of the original French poem, but while he continues by an interpolation the adventures in chronological order of Renard and Tibert, he assigns to the latter a rôle quite independent of the protagonists of the original. But allusions in XV to Isengrin as a monk, and to Renard as a priest, show that this early interpolation had been preceded by an independent branch which distributed such rôles to the animals, namely, III, of which Professor Foulet finds the source in the *Isengrimus*. In the Latin poem Isengrin is tempted into monastic life by Renard's tale that he had received some cakes, offered by him to the wolf, from his own convent. After Isengrin had renounced his new life of piety, Renard offers to teach him to fish with his tail, which is frozen in the ice, and cut off by the man pursuing him. In the French poem, it is the temptation of eels, stolen from a cart by Renard—

this episode may be due to a popular tale—which makes Isengrin ready to be tonsured by Renard, and to take the first step in his novitiate, which consists in fishing for his proper food, an action which results in the freezing in, and loss of his tail.

That IV presents the original French form of the story of Isengrin in the well, and that it is only in the story of the *Disciplina clericalis* that are found the details of the ascending and descending buckets, are the next points which are elucidated in the argumentation of Professor Foulet, who clears off the debit balance of the earlier strata of the *Roman de Renard* to the work of Nivardus, by showing that besides utilizing in his own way episodes of I, Va, VII, and V, and a version of an Æsopic fable, its author has followed closely the account in the Latin poem of Brer Wolf's oath to a wolf trap, and its consequences. In his discussion of I, "Le Jugement de Renard," Professor Foulet has not so much emphasized its indebtedness to earlier branches, particularly to II, Va, and XIV, and to Latin fable literature, as he does the masterly use made by the author to develop the story from the material he found to hand, resulting in an artistic piece of work, the gem of the épopée, which has had the fortune in subsequent literature it deserved, in successive imitations from the time of its first Flemish translator to the *Reineke Fuchs* of Goethe. In the analysis of its merits, which in an age of non-specialization the supreme critic Sainte-Beuve divined, Professor Foulet shows here that he has a sensitive, well poised literary taste, as he reveals throughout the book mental alertness and erudite preparedness.

It is an easy task to prove that the authors of Ia (Le Siège de Maupertuis), Ib (Renard teint, Renard jongleur), and VI (Duel de Renard et d'Isengrin) at once plagiarize and supplement I, while X (Renard médecin),<sup>1</sup> beginning as an imitation of the same branch, has added a new episode of which the elements are to be found in *Ysengrimus*. Further, the Italian Rainardo (XXVII), which for Sudre and G. Paris was a rifacimento of a very early form of several primitive French branches, is shown to be the original work of a Franco-Italian writer of the thirteenth century, largely based on I. If in the discussion of the separate branches Foulet has had to take issue with Voretsch on the originality of the existing texts, in a chapter devoted to *Reinhart Fuchs* of Glichezère, he has emphasized the originality and artistic merits of the German adapter, and has proved by cogent arguments that (393):

"le Glichezère a, non sans talent, ordonné et fondu en un poème unique une demi-douzaine de branches que nous avons encore. On ne peut s'appuyer sur son récit pour voir dans les poèmes conservés de Renard des remaniements tardifs."

To complete his study of the branches comprised in the archetype of the manuscripts is the next part of his task that Professor Foulet takes up. He again finds that of these seven branches, VIII (Pèlerinage de Renard) and XVI (Le partage du lion) had their source in *Ysengrimus*, and IX (Renard et Liétard) was suggested by a story of the *Disciplina clericalis*, while one episode

<sup>1</sup> The Caroline fable of the sick lion (371) was included by the original editor Dümmler in the *Poetae latini aevi Carolini* (M.G.), I, 62-4, and by Neff in his *Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus* (1908), 193-6, although the latter has joined von Winterfield (*Neues Archiv d. Ges. f. ält. deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXIX, 468), if for different reasons, in denying its authorship to Paulus.

of XI (Renard empereur) was directly inspired by the fable of the fox and grapes in the collection of Romulus, and a second (The sparrow revenged by the dog) had its source in a popular tale. If the author of XVI goes as far as to claim to be the original creator of the cycle, Pierre de St. Cloud, it was the evident intention of the authors of these late branches to develop or bring to a conclusion episodes in the earlier branches. A source for the attack upon the monks of Cluny and the Cistercians in VII, which has escaped Professor Foulet (443), is the *Speculum Stultorum* of Nigellus Wirecker, written before 1183 (cf. *Studii med.*, IV, 118-9), of which the hero, the ass Burnellus, refuses to enter any of the monastic orders after a complete and unfavorable review of them all (T. Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, I, 82-96). In this branch and in XII (Les vêpres de Tibert), whose author, Richard de Lison, is careful to name himself, and XVII (Mort et procession Renart), the personality of the respective authors is so apparent that Professor Foulet does not need to insist, in opposition to his predecessors, that we have them in their original form.

Coming to the epigoniads, Professor Foulet in his study of the late branches, written posterior to the original collection of Renard poems, from 1205-1250, notes how their authors have either revamped episodes of the older collection, or added new elements to the cycle to which they wish to attach their own compositions. Following the lead of the late chansons de geste, magic plays a large part in one branch (XXIII); and another (XXIV) relates the "anfances" of Renard; while the author of another branch which has been divided into three (XIX, XX, XXI) has found in *Ysengrimus* the suggestions, if not the details, of three episodes, in which Isengrin is the protagonist, and Renard is not even mentioned. In a chapter on the popularity of the Renard poems, our author shows both its extended influence and his own wide reading. Beginning with the first years of the thirteenth century not only do the writers of every genre of French literature, be it epic, popular or learned, fabliau or miracle, show an intimacy with the cycle; preachers like Eudes de Cheriton and Jacques de Vitry<sup>2</sup> cite and translate bits of it; a serious historian, such as Philippe de Novare has written almost a new branch in furnishing historical characters with the names of Renard and his associates, and the procession of Renard was reproduced on the walls of houses and even of churches. To the many references on the mural decorations may be added those in medieval sermons noted by Delisle (*Mélanges de Paléographie*, 206) and Hauréau (*Not. et Extr. de quelques manuscrits*, IV, 51). He emphasizes the allusions to the Old French poem in the works of Eudes de Cheriton and Jacques de Vitry, because those who believe in the popular source of the poems have found in them an argument for the early use of popular oral tales by medieval writers. In the penultimate chapter entitled "Le Roman de Renard et le Folklore," Professor Foulet disposes not only of this argument but of those based upon the appearance of episodes of the *Roman* in various late collections of Latin fables, and also protests "contre l'emploi par les historiens de la littérature, dans la critique d'oeuvres du moyen âge, de matériaux qui, directement ou indirectement, peuvent venir de ces oeuvres-là mêmes." However, even if he can show—as he promises to do

<sup>2</sup> G. Frenken (*Die Exempla des Jacob von Vitry*, 1914, 32-3) has independently noted the indebtedness of Jacques de Vitry, pointing out further that Crane, No. 174, had its source in XIV, 657-581. He has not found any such indebtedness in the exempla from the *Sermones communes* published by himself.

in another work (563, n. 1)—that in a number of cases the formation of the branches of the *Roman* has been explained by modern stories which are derived from these very branches, he will have a delicate task to separate such derivatives from independent analogues, such, say, as the Malay fable, "The King of the Tigers is Sick" (W. Skeat, *Fables and Folk Tales from an Eastern Forest*, 3-4), in which the Tiger Crown Prince, as Isengrimus in the Latin poem of Nivardus, advises the patient to eat the flesh of beasts of the field, a treatment avoided by the advice of the tardy Mouse-Deer—the Renard of Malay fable literature—who excuses his tardiness as due to a dream in which he was instructed that the only remedy was "That which is nearest your Majesty," namely, the Tiger Crown Prince, or the Kurdish tale in which the patient, a woman, had, like the lion in *Reinhart Fuchs*, a pain in the head, which could only be cured by being wrapped in the skin of a seven-year-old lion (Pryn & Socin, *Syrische Sagen und Maerchen aus dem Volksmunde*, 113-114).

In a final chapter the author sums up the results of his researches as having shown that the *Roman*, far from being a Volksepik, was the artistic creation of some twenty clerks of the twelfth and thirteenth century, who borrowed from classical or medieval Latin works the setting, and were only indebted to themselves and their own times for their wealth of detail. Certainly by showing that the *Ysengrimus* is one of its main sources, future investigations will have to begin where Voigt left off in emphasizing the learned clerical origin of that work (*Ysengr.*, ed. E. Voigt, lxxxviii ff.). Professor Foulet has written a most satisfactory book, well planned and well composed, cogent in its arguments, and acceptable in its conclusions, well worthy to belong to one of the collection of which it forms a volume, in setting a model for a combination of scientific accuracy and methods, and literary form. It well compares with other studies of the collection devoted to Romance subjects, such as Bédier's *Les Fabliaux* and de Nolhac's *Petrarque et l'Humanisme*, written under the inspiration and direction of the great master, Gaston Paris, who would have been the first to commend Professor Foulet for rejecting his own thesis when in search for the truth.

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*Rimatori Siculo-Toscani del Dugento. Serie Prima: Pistoiesi, Lucchesi, Pisani, a cura di GUIDO ZACCAGNINI e AMOS PARDUCCI. Bari, Laterza, 1915.*

The present volume of the admirable series of *Scrittori d'Italia*, the first to enter the field of the earlier lyric, gives us the work of three groups of poets who flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century. It is accordingly tripartite in arrangement, each division being complete in itself—first, the text; then a series of notes, concisely stating what is known of each poet's career, and offering emendations or elucidations of his more difficult passages; and finally, a glossary. There are also numerous bibliographical references which will enable the reader to pursue in the recent literature of the subject the study of various details; so that the compact and well-printed volume gives ample provision for the appreciation of its contents.

The text of the poets of Pistoia, edited by Zaccagnini, shows few changes from that offered in his previous edition of 1907, beyond the omission of the

few Trecento pieces, and a commendable tendency to revert to mss. readings wherever possible. This is especially the case in the sonnets, as may be seen in the second of "Si. Gui." (p. 20), and the second of Lanfranchi (p. 28). In the first canzone of Meo, L's *mondo* (3) is rightly emended to *modo*; whether the change of *pena* to *pecca* in 28 is needed, is perhaps dubious. In his second, L's *per servire* (15) is changed to *star servidore*, to accord with the exact repetition in the linking of the other stanzas; in 45, *vostra* (for *nostra* of L and ed. I) would seem to be a misprint.

More important, both numerically and intrinsically, is the group of poets of Lucca, edited by Parducci on the basis of his edition of 1905. The only change in arrangement is the grouping of the sonnets of *tenzoni* together, instead of under their respective authors, with a consequent gain in clearness. Bonagiunta, the chief figure of the group, gains a ballata, and the canzone *Ben mi credea in tutto esser d'amore*, preserved only in the Giuntine edition, but now accepted by Parducci as authentic. One sonnet, *In prima or m'è novella bona giunta*, is omitted, but the text of sonnets and ballate is practically unchanged.

The canzoni of Bonagiunta (almost the only poems in the entire volume which are preserved in enough primary mss. to make choice of readings possible) show several changes, most of them for the better. It is pleasant to see the metre of canzoni IV and V restored to the form in which the mss. present it. That of VIII would stand a little retouching. It seems to me that the first seven lines of each stanza were designed to be octosyllabic, as may be seen by adopting mss. readings in 2, *infra* (V); 7, *ne voglio* (V); 20, *pare* (PV); 33, *inver* (PV). In 13, V's *fallo in alto pregio* seems better than P's reading, which Parducci accepts.

The minor changes in the canzoni are as follows: I. 7, *e* (V) for *nè* (L); I. 9, *per* (V) for *lo* (L); II. 24, *verso* for *ver* (ms.); III. 47, *tutta* (PV) for *senn'e* (L); VI. 16, *la 'ntendanza e* (V) for *là und' esce* (P); VI. 24, *erranza* (P) for *oranza* (V); VII. 15, *per* (ms.) for *pur* (emended); IX. 10, *gieme* (V) for *donne* (P); IX. 18, *sì fort' è* for *sì forte*; X. 43, *ch'è regina* for *ched è gina* (ms.). In V. 36-7, a slight emendation has extracted sense from the mss. In VII. 25, the change of P's *pegio* to *pregio* is an emendation, not a simple insertion of one letter; for P's spelling is usually (if not invariably) *presio*. In X I should regard 23 as a mere repetition of 18, and hence without influence on the text. Finally, in VI. 53, a slight emendation of V's reading *e cio ch' io dico nulle giome aviso* would give *nullo è, ciò m'è aviso*, which seems to me better than P's *nullo dir*, accepted by Parducci. These, however, are small points; in the main, Parducci's text may be accepted as definitive.

The Pisan poets, who form part III, have in most cases not appeared in print except in the diplomatic edition of L, the sole source for most of them; and it cannot be said that Zaccagnini's handling of them is in all respects successful. The changes which are discussed in the notes need not be examined here; but sundry other passages are still susceptible of improvement. Whether, in Gualacca's serventese, *daviso* of line 9 need be taken as a spelling of David, seems questionable; nor do I see why in the last line a superfluous *a* is made to precede *l'amo*, without mss. authority. In the canzoni of Panuccio, contorted and obscure as they are, opinions will differ on many points; but I think the following changes would improve Zaccagnini's text. I. 64, read *parte vera* (cf. *parte scora* in 66, where L reads *tenebre*, not *tenebra*; II. 15, read *rallegrando* i

*speranza*; III. 75, read *come* for *com'è*; IV. 67-8, L's line-division could be adopted, and its text kept; VI. 9, read *quanto* (L); VI. 60, read *disia* (L), not *disira*, and in 61 omit *lo*; VIII. 44, read *u' i' dimorasse* for *vi dimorasse*. Likewise in Lotto di Ser Dato it would be better to keep L's readings in I. 8, *quanto*; 59, *aita* for *vita*; 68, *ciò* for *voi*; and II. 5, *tene* for *mene*. In 32 of Nocco's canzone, read *dice*: *Ben ò* for *dice beno*, to correspond with *dice*: *Ome* in 36. In 26 and 70, *speme* and *veritate* are presumably misprints for *spene* and *veritade*, L's readings.

The poems that fare worst under Zaccagnini's handling are those of Pucciandone. It is true that the first has been transmitted by P in a rather calamitous state; but Zaccagnini's reduction of it to 17-line stanzas (which should be 18-line), and his notion that the fourth stanza, really the best preserved, is the most corrupt, have led to a "reconstruction" which involves a wholesale shifting or deleting of what the ms. affords. Likewise, the notes to the ballata (no. II) do not clearly show where the editor has added or emended.

In conclusion, a word should be said as to the literary value of these poems—slight enough in many cases, but by no means lacking in all. To read Bonagiunta's *Avegnachè partenza*, Lotto's *Fior di beltà*, or Nocco's *Greve di gioia* is to feel what we may call the amenity of the best minor lyric of the time—its unpretending simplicity, its neat recording of familiar thought in pleasantly flowing measures. To the sympathetic reader, such poems go far to atone for dreary essays in complexities of rime, or unprofitable excursions into misunderstood philosophy. These aberrations assuredly exist; but along with them runs an inconspicuous but limpid stream of true poetry.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



## NOTES AND NEWS

At the University of California the following advancement and appointments have been made:

G. Fauchaux, to Associate Professor of French.  
Louis Barnier, Instructor in French.  
Beatrice Cornish, Instructor in Spanish.  
Elizabeth McGuire, Instructor in Spanish.  
R. Echeverria, Instructor in Spanish.

The University of Chicago recently made the following advancement and appointment:

Ralph E. House to Assistant Professor of Romance Languages.  
J. A. Child, formerly of California and Amherst, Instructor (pro tem.) in Romance Languages.

At Cornell University the following Instructors in Romance Languages have been appointed:

H. A. Brickley, A.B., A.M. (Harvard).  
Frank Colucci, A.B. (Rochester).  
M. J. Hubert, A.B., A.M. (Cornell).  
C. J. Buttery, A.B., A.M. (Cornell).  
A. S. Coma.

Harvard University has made the following appointments:

Señor J. Husbands, of the Universidad de Santiago de Chile, to give instruction in the Spanish section of the Romance Department.  
E. F. Parker, A.M. (recently of the University of North Carolina), Instructor in Romance Languages.  
L. P. Brown, A.M. (recently of Northwestern University), Instructor in Romance Languages.  
G. H. Gifford, A.B. (recently a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford), Instructor in Romance Languages.  
R. I. Little, A.M., Instructor in Romance Languages.

At the University of Illinois the following assistants have been appointed:

Louis Philip Costa, A.M. (Oxon).  
Manuel López, A.B. (Ohio Wesleyan).  
Park Powell, A.B., B.S. (Missouri).  
Orlando d'Amato, A.B. (Columbia).  
Pedro Bach y Rita, a graduate of the Escuela Superior de Maestros in Barcelona.

Iowa State University has appointed Joseph I. Cheskis Instructor in Romance Languages.

Johns Hopkins University has made the following appointments:

- Dr. Erasmo Buceta, Instructor in Spanish.
- Dr. Gustav Gruenbaum, Instructor in Romance Languages.
- W. S. Hastings, Instructor in Romance Languages.

From the University of Kansas come the following items of interest:

- Calvert J. Winter, granted leave of absence for a year of study at the University of Chicago.
- Rodolphe O. Hoffman, Ph.C. (Ghent), appointed Assistant Professor of Romance Languages.
- Anna L. Saby, M.A. (recently of Randolph-Macon Woman's College), appointed Instructor in Spanish.
- Dr. Daniel da Cruz, appointed Instructor in Spanish.
- Santiago Gutiérrez V., Licenciado en Ciencias (Costa Rica), appointed Instructor in Spanish.

At Lehigh University Philip D. Stevens, A.B. (Harvard), has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages.

At the University of Minnesota the following changes have taken place in the Department of Romance Languages:

- Ruth Shepard Phelps, A.M., has been advanced to an assistant professorship.
- Paul H. d'Équilly Morin, Docteur de l'Université de Paris, recently Lecturer in Romance Languages at Smith College, has been appointed Professorial Lecturer.
- Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Bachiller en ciencias y letras, Abogado, recently Professor of Castilian Literature in the University of Mexico, has been appointed Professorial Lecturer.
- Martin Luis Guzmán, Bachiller en ciencias y letras, recently Professor of Spanish at the University of Mexico, has been appointed Professorial Lecturer.
- George S. Barnum, A.M., has been advanced from a teaching fellowship to an instructorship.
- Gustaaf van Roosbroeck has been appointed to a teaching fellowship.
- Enrique Jiménez, Bachiller en ciencias y letras, Abogado, has been appointed to a teaching fellowship.

The following are new Instructors in the department of Romance Languages at Northwestern University:

- Joseph Proctor Knott, B.A.,
- Joseph Cornwall Palamountain, M.A.,
- Reginald deKoven Warner, M.A.,
- Sara Frances Bragdon, B.A.,
- Donald MacKenzie, Ph.D.

At Ohio State University Professor Edgar S. Ingraham, who last year was absent on leave while studying at the Johns Hopkins University, has returned to his position; and Felipe Teixido de Berriz (quondam student at Madrid and Paris) has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages.

From Ohio Wesleyan University come the following items:

Harry Payne Reeves, advanced to an Assistant Professorship in Romance Languages and placed in charge of all the Spanish work.  
Owen K. Boring, appointed Instructor in Romance Languages.

At the University of Texas the following advancements have been made:

Lilia Cassis to a Professorship in Romance Languages.  
W. S. Hendrix to an Adjunct Professorship in Romance Languages.  
C. Blume, M.A., has been appointed to an Instructorship in Romance Languages.

At Washington and Jefferson University, Dr. T. A. E. Moseley (recently Instructor in Princeton University) has been appointed Professor of Romance Languages.

At Western Reserve University Wm. P. Ward (recently of the University of Kansas) has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages.

From the University of Wisconsin come the following items:

W. E. Giese has been advanced from the position of Associate Professor to that of Professor of Romance Languages.  
F. Ernst has been advanced from an Instructorship to an Assistant Professorship in Romance Languages.  
Jeanne Greenleaf, recently of the University of California, has been appointed Instructor in French.  
J. Ortega, of Madrid, Spain, has been appointed Instructor in Spanish.

Professor C. H. Grandgent, of Harvard University, has received the honorary degree of L.H.D. from the University of Chicago.

Professor J. D. M. Ford, of Harvard University, has been elected Correspondiente de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras of Barcelona.

Professor F. B. Luquiens, of Yale University, has been appointed General Editor of "The Macmillan Spanish Series." The first volume, a Spanish Grammar by Fuentes and François, has just appeared.

Professor E. C. Hills has resigned his chair in Colorado College to become the successor of S. Willard Clary, Esq., as General Editor of the Modern Language Series of D. C. Heath & Co. His headquarters will be in the New York office.

Professor C. Carroll Marden has resigned the chair that he graced for so many years at the Johns Hopkins University and has accepted the newly established Emory L. Ford Professorship of Spanish at Princeton University. For the present year, however, despite his new duties, he will continue to conduct the graduate work in Spanish at the Johns Hopkins University.

Professor Thomas E. Oliver has returned to his work at the University of Illinois after nearly a year of absence serving in Belgium with the American Commission for Relief in Belgium.

Professor John D. Fitz-Gerald, of the University of Illinois, has been elected Correspondiente de la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid. Professor Fitz-Gerald has also been appointed General Editor of "The Hispanic Series," which is published by Benj. H. Sanborn & Co. The first volume, an Elementary Spanish Reader, by Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa, is just off the presses.

Aurelio M. Espinosa, of Leland Stanford Jr. University, has been advanced from Assistant Professor of Spanish to Associate Professor of Spanish.

John Hill has returned from two years of study in Spain and France to an Adjunct Professorship of Romance Languages at the University of Indiana.

A masterly treatise on French versification (*Essai sur l'Histoire du Vers Français*, by Professor H. P. Thieme, Paris, Champion, xii + 432 pages) has just appeared. The Introduction is from the pen of Professor G. Lanson. Professor Thieme has arranged for the entire proceeds to go to the families of French professors who have fallen in the war. It is earnestly hoped that the fund thus obtained may be increased by similar gifts from teachers in this country. The price of the volume is \$2.00, and copies may be ordered of Mr. George Wahr, Ann Arbor, Michigan, or of the author himself.

M. Paul Fort announces that the continuation of his *Poèmes de France* will be conditional on the sales by subscription of a new volume by him: *Deux Chaumières au Pays de l'Yveline*. The new book does not treat of the war, and is simply another volume of the author's poems. Copies may be ordered of M. Fort: 34, rue Gay-Lussac, Paris. Copies on ordinary paper cost, postage paid, 3 francs, those on Holland paper, 10 francs, and those on Japan paper, 20 francs.

